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A RAILROAD TO UTOPIA

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University of California

In the nineteenth century the United States was the center of experimentation for co-operative settlements—the kind generally known as Utopian. These colonies took on various characteristics, reflecting the source of inspiration, practical considerations of settlement, and the nature of the settlers. On the basis of certain common qualities they may be classified into types, but all of them, to some degree, had unique features. From this standpoint, one of the most interesting was the colony which a group of Americans attempted to establish at Topolobampo, on the west coast of Mexico, for not only was it pervaded by the joint-stock principle of organization but it was also intimately associated with a company that proposed to build a transcontinental railroad line.

The central figure in the railroad and colony ventures was Albert K. Owen. This man was an engineer who became deeply interested in social and economic questions and an active participant in various "reform" movements. His ideas form a curious mixture, compounded out of diverse influences—engineering, business, social philosophy, and money reform, to indicate only the more striking ones. A mystical quality permeates all his writings and at times makes it difficult to follow the thread of his argument. But he was a man of action as well as a dreamer. From a supplement to one of his pamphlet collections,¹ we learn that Owen was one of the organizers of the first Greenback club in Pennsylvania, a delegate to every national convention of the Greenback Party, and an elector on the Peter Cooper ticket in the presidential campaign

¹*Integral Co-operation; Its Practical Application*, New York, 1885, p. 203.

of 1876. Some of Owen's other activities are summarized in the following quotation. "His writings on the questions of the day, in support of an equitable ways and means of payment, upon the suffrage for women, and protective tariff, have been many. He assisted to organize the Sovereigns of Industry, belongs to the Brotherhood of the Union and the Knights of Labor, and is a Mason." No attempt will be made here to follow Owen in his varied operations, aside from those connected with his proposals to construct a railroad line to Topolobampo.

Owen became interested in Mexican railroad construction in 1872. In the spring of that year, when he finished some railroad survey work in Colorado, he was invited to join an expedition which General William J. Palmer was sending to Mexico, for railroad reconnaissance work. This engaged Owen's attention for almost a year, during which he covered about 5,000 miles in northern Mexico. Most of the exploratory work was in the interior, but Owen made one trip to the western coast. On this occasion he visited Topolobampo Bay, and was greatly impressed with the harbor. Apparently, it was not long after this that he began to project an American-Mexican transcontinental railroad with its western terminus, a gateway to the Pacific, at Topolobampo—a line that would offer a shorter transcontinental rail route than any lying entirely within the United States.

The record of Owen's early proposals is somewhat sketchy. From the brief account in the pamphlet already cited, it seems that he first introduced the project at a Governor's convention in Atlanta, Georgia, in May, 1873. His proposed line was then called "Norfolk-Topolobampo Pacific Railroad," and he was trying to interest the southern states in it as a means of building up commercial contacts with and through Mexico. About a year later, Owen laid his plans before the General Assembly of Virginia. With the support of the governor, James L. Kemper, the legislature was induced to grant a charter for a "Southern Settlement Society." This organization was to establish "colonies" from Norfolk to Topolobampo, but the nature of the proposed settlements is not indicated in the sources consulted by the writer. However, the business depression of the seventies made it necessary to abandon the project, and Owen turned to the national government with his railroad scheme.

From December, 1874, to February, 1879, Owen endeavored to interest the federal government in his proposal. The campaign got under way when a memorial prepared by Owen was presented to Congress. Entitled "The Great Southern Trans-Oceanic and International Air Line—Asia to Europe via Mexico and the United States," the petition urged the national government to construct the railroad and recommended that the venture be financed by issuing "Treasury money;" the latter, apparently, meant paper money. A month later, on January 26, 1875, the proposal took a more concrete, and more moderate, form. Bills were introduced in the House and Senate to authorize the War Department to survey the projected route across Texas and Mexico. The line was now called the "Austin-Topolovampo Pacific route," since Austin, Texas, was to be the American terminus.² The measures were referred to the appropriate committees. No further action was taken in the House, but the Senate Committee on Railroads requested a report on the project from the Chief of Engineers of the War Department. This official, in turn, designated three members of his staff to serve as a special board to examine the proposal. They did so, and prepared a report that was approved by the Secretary of War and submitted to the Senate committee on February 25, 1875. The principal conclusions reached by the board follow: 1) a railroad built on the proposed route would be of great utility; 2) the feasibility of the route remains to be determined by survey; 3) the \$20,000 proposed by the bill would not be sufficient to insure a thorough survey, but much useful information could be obtained for that amount. The Senate Committee on Railroads, however, was unable to take further action on the matter, and it was deferred to the next session of Congress.³ In the meanwhile the Mexican government was sounded out on its willingness to have the United States Corps of Engineers make a survey on Mexican territory. The reply, delivered to the Secretary of State by the Mexican ambassador in Washington, was favorable. According to Owen, the Mexican government said it "would welcome and assist said sur-

²*Congressional record*, 43 Congress, 2d sess., vol. 3, pt. 1, pp. 730, 766.

³*The Austin-Topolovampo Pacific survey* (Philadelphia, 1877), p. 3.

This is a pamphlet in which a number of relevant documents, letters, and newspaper articles were reprinted.

vey as the first substantial step taken in favor of commercial and social prosperity between the two peoples."⁴

The experience of Owen's proposal at the next session of Congress, the forty-fourth, was more encouraging, but still without result. Survey bills were presented to both the Senate and the House in December, 1875, and referred to the proper committees. Owen and other advocates of the measure were called in to testify. In April, 1876, the bills were favorably reported, and some debate ensued in the Senate.⁵ The supporters of the measure were Southerners, while those who spoke in opposition were from northern states. Objections mainly centered on the question of using the army engineers to make surveys for a private enterprise, and the possible diplomatic complications with Mexico. Speaking in defense of the measure, Senator Caperton of West Virginia referred flatteringly to the work of Owen, and emphasized the advantages of opening trade with northwestern Mexico. It would be possible to obtain there, he contended, many of the tropical products that were being imported from Cuba. Senator West of Louisiana attempted to defend the small subsidy involved, and pointed out that northern railroads had already received heavy federal subsidies. Despite their efforts, the measure was tabled.

In the forty-fifth Congress (1877-1879) the proposal received substantially identical treatment. Both House and Senate committees reported it favorably, but no further action was taken. By this time, however, the Topolobampo railroad was getting more publicity in the press and in periodicals, and from these sources we get more details on the project. *Railway Age* in November, 1877,⁶ published a letter from John O. Keim, who was apparently associated with Owen, giving estimates of the cost of constructing the railroad, and other data. The expense of building 150 miles of line in the mountains was put at \$8,750,000; the balance of the road (650 miles) was figured at an average of \$25,000 per mile, making the total cost about \$25,000,000. This calculation was for standard gauge; a narrow gauge line could be built for an average of \$5,000 to \$6,000 a mile. Keim was most enthusiastic on the

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁵*Congressional record*, 44 Congress, 1st session, vol. 4, pt. 3, pp. 2730-2732; pt. 4, pp. 3704-3706.

⁶*The Railway Age*, II, 1877, p. 1572.

traffic possibilities of the railroad. Aside from the through transcontinental traffic, the line would haul various products from northwestern Mexico—silver, copper, and other minerals, guano, cotton, rice, tobacco, tropical fruits, lumber, livestock, coal, etc. Furthermore, he contended, construction of this railroad would help to lift the business depression which was so severe in the United States at that time. Like many others, he believed that the national government was aggravating the effects of the depression by following a deflationary policy, and advocated heavy governmental aid for railroad construction as a recovery measure.

In support of his proposal, Owen offered statements from various persons who had traveled in northwestern Mexico. The most definite of these was a communication from a mineralogist of the University of Pennsylvania, George A. Koenig,⁷ who wrote as follows:

In December, 1870, I crossed the Sierra Madre from Chihuahua City to Batopilas by the Southern trail over Nonoava, and recrossed in February by way of Cusihuiachi. . . . From Cusihuiachi to Churo, the highest Indian village in the Sierra and the highest point of altitude of the mesa, the slope is so gradual that not the least difficulty would be encountered in building a track. Churo lies at the brink of the great barranca, through which the broad Uriqui river flows. The descent from here is very steep, probably 3,000 feet, but hardly comparable to the descent of the Union Pacific Railroad into the Sacramento valley regarding difficulty and cost of construction. Following the Uriqui river a considerable amount of blasting will have to be done in skirting the rocky promontories; as crossing by bridges would not be feasible or too costly on account of the width of the river. The descent from the mesa to Batopilas, and following the Batopilas river to the low lands would cost at least three times as much as the Uriqui descent. The southern trail, by way of Nonoava, may be left out of consideration. In all my travels I have not met with a more roughly broken topography than this part of the Sierra Madre. Aside from all political considerations, I consider the building of your route of the greatest importance. Batopilas within short railroad connection, and worked comprehensively by a powerful company would certainly eclipse every one of the past or greatest great silver-producing centers.

In offering his project to Congress, Owen emphasized the fact that American railroads with transcontinental outlets at Topolobampo would be shorter than those reaching Pacific

⁷The letter is included in a pamphlet published by Owen under the title, *The Topolobampo Pacific* (undated), p. 2.

ports within the boundaries of the United States itself. He was ready to supply statistics on comparative distances, skillfully arranged for dramatic effect, as the following quotation shows:

. . . . Saint Louis, Mo., is 316 miles and Chicago is 221 miles nearer, as the crow flies, to Topolovampo than to San Francisco. Omaha, Nebr., is 150 miles nearer to Topolovampo than to San Francisco, and Fort Worth, Tex., is over 400 miles nearer than to San Diego, and nearly 800 miles nearer than to San Francisco. New York City is 340 miles and Philadelphia is 350 miles nearer to Topolovampo than to San Francisco.

Merchandise shipped to Galveston, Tex., could be expressed to the Pacific, via Topolovampo, in a distance of 957 miles. Compare this with the land transportation of 3,303 miles from New York to San Francisco, via Union Pacific. Vicksburg is 400 miles nearer, in a straight line, to Topolovampo than to San Diego; and Memphis is over 300 miles nearer than to San Diego, and 540 miles nearer than to San Francisco. Indianapolis is 200 miles nearer to Topolovampo than to San Diego, and 360 miles nearer than to San Francisco. Washington, D. C., is 215 miles nearer to Topolovampo than to San Diego, and 380 miles nearer than to San Francisco.⁸

The forty-fifth Congress was the last one to which Owen presented his plan. Twice the survey bills had been reported favorably by the railroad committees of both branches of Congress, an army engineering board had tentatively approved the proposal, and a certain amount of support had been gained in the Senate. Owen maintained that the "great railroad corporations" prevented the bill from passing,⁹ but it is impossible to determine the degree of truth in this assertion. Other reasons may be suggested—sectional politics, possibility of diplomatic complications with Mexico,¹⁰ and Congressional fear of sponsoring another swindle of the type so common in the preceding years.

After his failure to secure aid from Congress in 1879, Owen seems to have dropped the Topolobampo project for a time in favor of other ventures; among these was a plan for a canal to drain the Valley of Mexico. In 1881, he revived the

⁸From testimony presented by Owen to the Senate Committee on Railroads, in Senate Report No. 217, 45 Cong., 2d sess.

⁹*Integral Co-operation; Its Practical Application*, p. 203.

¹⁰The Mexican Congress in 1878 was hostile to American corporations and to proposed railroad connections between the two countries. See James Callahan, *American Foreign Policy in Mexican Relations*, New York, 1932, p. 483.

Topolobampo proposal, but this time he appealed to the Mexican government for support. Owen and other promoters organized a corporation, under Massachusetts law, known as The Texas, Topolobampo, and Pacific Railroad and Telegraph Company. The president of the company was ex-senator William Windom, while the board of directors included Frederick O. Prince, ex-mayor of Boston, Matías Romero, Mexican ambassador to Washington, General B. F. Butler, Wendell Phillips, E. A. Buck, and John H. Rice.¹¹ Negotiations with the Mexican government were handled by Owen, who prophesied a grand commercial future for Mexico, to result from railroad development. In a bombastic statement delivered to President Gonzalez early in June, 1881, he envisioned Mexico as the great entrepôt of trade between Europe and Asia, "the rendezvous for the merchants of the world."¹²

On June 13, 1881, the Mexican government awarded a contract¹³ to the Texas, Topolobampo, and Pacific Railroad and Telegraph Co., for the construction of a main line from Piedras Negras, Coahuila, to Topolobampo. Branch lines were to be built to Alamos, Sonora, to Mazatlán, Sinaloa, and to Presidio del Norte, Chihuahua. Work was to begin at Topolobampo within sixty days after the proper officials approved the plans, and at least 150 kilometers were to be completed each biennium thereafter; however, for the mountainous country, this figure was reduced to 100 kilometers. The whole line was to be finished within ten years. The Mexican government obligated itself to pay a subsidy, except on the branch to Presidio del Norte, amounting to 5,000 pesos per kilometer. Certain tax exemptions were conceded to the railroad company, and it was to be allowed to import equipment free of duty for a number of years. As evidence of good faith, the company was to post a bond, within ninety days, of 100,000 pesos.

This contract was but the beginning of a long series of modifications, cancelations and renewals. The first change, made on December 5, 1882,¹⁴ involved one principal item. The

¹¹New York Tribune, December 19, 1886, reprinted in a pamphlet entitled *Newspaper articles relating to the Credit Foncier Company*, pp. 19-25.

¹²*Integral Co-operation; Its Practical Application*, pp. 92-97.

¹³Manuel Dublan and José María Lozano, *Legislación mexicana*, XIV, pp. 826-838.

¹⁴Dublan and Lozano, *op. cit.*, XIV, pp. 353-357.

company obligated itself to build a city at Topolobampo, on lands which it already owned.¹⁵ The city was to be known as Ciudad Gonzalez. In turn, the government ceded certain lands in the vicinity of Topolobampo to the railroad company. Minor modifications in the contract were made on July 3, 1886 and July 16, 1888; on December 24, 1889 the concession was canceled by the Mexican government, and not renewed until 1892.

Under these contracts, almost no actual construction was accomplished. So far as can be ascertained, Owen never gave a reason for this deficiency, but we may surmise that it was the result of a lack of capital. In 1883, Owen himself took charge of a party which surveyed 100 miles east of Topolobampo. Some time after this, a construction company (Mexican-American Construction Co.) was organized to build the line, by the same group that formed the railroad company. Preliminary work was begun in February, 1885. In April, the Mexican-American Construction Co. sent an engineer to Topolobampo, to make a progress report.¹⁶ From a letter written by this engineer, James Campbell, we learn that some grading work was being carried on near Topolobampo when he arrived. However, since no rails were to be sent that summer, Campbell ordered the grading work to be suspended. The teams were put to use making reservoirs to hold rain water for the next season. Campbell also gave estimates of construction costs, but the figures are not disclosed. He strongly urged that the first sixteen miles of line, to Los Mochis, be completed as soon as possible in order to convince the Mexican government that the company was of good faith. This was made doubly necessary, he contended, by the fact that the Mexican government had suspended the payment of all railroad subsidies.

Undoubtedly, it was this suspension of subsidy payments in 1885 that discouraged the promoters from going further with construction work. Like most of the American railroad enterprisers interested in Mexican ventures in the optimistic early eighties, they were probably placing a great deal of reliance upon subsidies for their capital. Although the Mexican government made partial payments of subsidies later, an un-

¹⁵These lands were held under option, not in outright ownership.

¹⁶Published in *Integral Co-operation; Its Practical Application*, pp. 151-155.

certain situation was created and potential investors withdrew from the field.¹⁷

It was at this time that the railroad venture became associated with a Utopian colony. For some years, it seems, Owen had been entertaining ideas of social reconstruction by means of co-operative colonies, although he had not crystallized his ideas into any definite plan. Unable to finance the railroad venture in the ordinary manner, he now hit upon the plan of combining it with a co-operative colony. The two enterprises, he expected, would mutually advance each other and make both possible of achievement. Thus, over a period of years, Owen elaborated, systematized, and actively publicized his views on "integral co-operation." He wrote many pamphlets, newspaper articles, and letters on the subject, although in no one place did he give a full statement and analysis of his ideas. Since our concern here is with the railroad venture rather than the colony,¹⁸ it will be sufficient to indicate briefly the nature of the framework upon which Owen planned to establish the settlement.

Basic to the whole structure was the joint-stock principle. A company was to be organized to own the site of the colony, and to control all the facilities for "transportation, exchange, banking, production, distribution, insurance, construction, education, entertainment, etc."¹⁹ Private property was to be recognized in such things as clothing, household goods, ornaments, and individual earnings. The relationship of settler to colony was to be that of stockholder to company, for every settler had to own at least one share of stock. The company was to be the owner of all land, and the settlers were to purchase from it the right to use the land. This right could not be sold to a third party; if a holder wished to leave the community, the company would buy back the land-use right. The same arrangement applied to shares of stock, and for the same reason—to prevent speculation.

Management of the company was to be in the hands of an elected board of directors, comprising ten members. Each director was to serve as head of a department, and the ten departments were to be the agencies by which all corporate

¹⁷Fred W. Powell, *The Railroads of Mexico* (Boston, 1921), pp. 119-120.

¹⁸The writer is at present engaged in making a more intensive study of the colony itself.

¹⁹*Integral Co-operation at Work*, no. 2 New York, 1891, p. 201.

activities were carried on—e. g., production and distribution of industrial and agricultural products, transportation and communication, education, police and fire protection, medical service, amusements. Of first-rate importance among the divisions was the Department of Deposits and Loans. This institution was designed to receive, as deposits, all the money, personal property, and labor of the members. Credits were to be given for deposits, including labor services;²⁰ these credits could be used to obtain commodities from the company's store, or services. In all other matters, as well as these, members were to deal with the company, not with each other.

In July, 1886, Owen and Rice, as representatives of the Texas, Topolobampo, and Pacific Railroad Co., signed a contract with the Mexican government for the establishment of a colony at Topolobampo Bay.²¹ On lands already owned by the railroad company on the north shore of Topolobampo Bay and at Mochis, the company obligated itself to set up a model colony, to be known as "Pacific Colony." The settlement was to be industrial as well as agricultural in character, and the heads of the families residing there were to be trained in some occupation. Within two years the colony was to include a minimum of 500 families, and in the succeeding five years at least 1,500 additional families were to be incorporated. The company was obliged to establish primary, secondary, and vocational schools in the colony, and to teach Spanish in all of them. Furthermore, it was pledged to inaugurate steamship service between Topolobampo and other Mexican ports, and to set aside two lots in the colony for federal buildings. In turn, certain concessions were granted—for a period of ten years the company was exempted from all taxes except municipal, from import duties on industrial and agricultural machinery, and from export restrictions on fruit; at all times, colonists were freed from import duties on personal belongings.

Other clauses of the contract gave the company the right to survey all unoccupied lands within a restricted area adjacent to the proposed railroad line. This area was to extend 60 kilometers on each side of the line in the states of Sinaloa and Sonora, and half that distance in the states of Chihuahua

²⁰Wages were not to be the same for all persons, but to vary with skill. "We deny that men are born equal. We are for equity, but not for equality." (Owen, in *Integral Co-operation at Work*, no. 2, p. 203.)

²¹Dublan and Lozano, *op. cit.*, XVII, pp. 652-656.

and Coahuila. Compensation for the cost of survey was to be allowed under the famous law of December 15, 1883. One-third of the lands surveyed were to be received as an outright grant, and the company was to purchase another third, at the price fixed by the government. On all these lands the railroad was to establish colonies of settlers, including at least 25 per cent Mexicans.

After Owen and his associates had spent more than a year working out details of the program, they organized a company to direct the Topolobampo settlement. Incorporated under the laws of Colorado in September, 1886, it was known as the Credit Foncier Company. This name was selected, Owen said, "because we base not only our credit but everything upon the home." Publicity was given to the enterprise by means of pamphlets and a journal published at Hammonton, New Jersey, under the title "The Credit Foncier of Sinaloa." The latter was edited by two writers who had been attracted by Owen's proposal, Edward and Marie Howland. Shares sold at \$10 each, and it was arranged that as soon as 15,000 had been disposed of the first colonists might start for Topolobampo. Sales were particularly heavy in Denver, where a physician, S. T. Peet, was active in advertising the venture, and a Denver group was among the first to start for Sinaloa, in November. By that time, subscriptions had been received for more than 15,000 shares, although only about one-third had been paid for. Additional funds were anticipated in the form of deposits—i. e., interest-bearing deposits left with the Department of Deposits and Loans by stockholders. According to Owen,²² over \$600,000 had been pledged in this form, but it is doubtful if more than a negligible amount was actually received.

The first party was followed, within a few months, by other bands of settlers, making a total of about 400 persons. It had been the intention of the promoters to send only about 100 "pioneers" in the first section, to prepare the way for others, but they were unable to prevent the rush of enthusiastic colonizers. Later, when the colony split into factions, Owen, and those who supported him, maintained that this unseemly haste was responsible for the failure of the venture. Others, however, contended that Owen did everything to encourage people to go to Topolobampo at this time, in order to have them

²²Newspaper articles relating to the Credit Foncier Company, p. 11.

work on the railroad line. We need not pause here to assess the blame for the unsuccessful outcome of the colony. It is evident, however, that insufficient preparations had been made to care for those who reached the settlement in the first groups, and it is probably true that Owen himself was more interested in the railroad than in the colony.

The Credit Foncier and the railroad company were closely intertwined. Indirectly, the former was designed to provide capital for the latter; this was achieved by arranging for the Credit Foncier to purchase a controlling interest in the railroad.²³ Owen hoped that this would yield enough to finance the first section of the line, from Topolobampo to the Fuerte River, estimated to cost \$192,500. Apparently, the Credit Foncier was to pay for its interest in the railroad company by constructing this segment of the line. But the paid-in capital and other funds available to the Credit Foncier were insufficient to meet this requirement, and the plan ultimately had to be abandoned. However, from the start a number of colonists did clearing and grading work for the first section of the railroad.

The first settlers at Topolobampo were faced with difficult conditions, and they were inadequately prepared to cope with them. Smallpox and other diseases broke out, and disagreements arose over matters of policy and administration. These, added to the physical hardships of settling in an unfamiliar environment, compelled most of them to return to the United States within a year after the first attempt was made. In 1890, a Rev. Hogeland visited the colony and found only about 130 persons there.

Thus, the Credit Foncier Company, as at first organized, provided no solution for the problem of getting capital for the railroad; nor was it successful in establishing the colony at Topolobampo. The money invested in these two enterprises was lost, as Owen later admitted, although he provided for repayment when the company was subsequently reorganized.

The railroad and Colony Concessions, the surveys of 4,000 miles of routes running out from Topolobampo, the mapping of the Sierra Madre and the expenses attending the developing of Topolobampo and its vicinage has cost persons whom I have interested in the different projects, between 1881-86, something over 400,000 in gold

²³*Newspaper articles relating to the Credit Foncier Company, p. 40. -*

. . . . The money which has been from time to time advanced, in one way or another, in connection with Topolobampo up to 1886 was advanced for speculative purposes and has been, to all intents and purposes, lost in the regular ways of our old methods of doing business. . . .²⁴

In the latter part of 1889, some new supporters attempted to come to the aid of the colonizing venture. Again the joint-stock device was brought into play. Christian B. Hoffman, a Kansas business man who had become interested in Topolobampo, organized a corporation known as the Kansas Sinaloa Investment Company, which was designed to secure capital for the colony and, by building up the colony, make the railroad project more feasible. In the Credit Foncier, all shares, after the first 15,000, had to be sold to actual settlers. The K. S. I. Co., by contrast, was to sell its stock to non-settlers, as an investment. With the funds raised in this fashion, the company was to purchase lands in the vicinity of Topolobampo and hold them until the Credit Foncier was able to pay for them. The K. S. I. Co. would then sell these lands to it "at prices which are low compared with the intrinsic value of the land or with the speculative price, and yet afford a good profit to investors."²⁵ The first land scheduled for purchase was the Mochis ranch; in all, about 200,000 acres were contemplated in the program. At the same time, the K. S. I. Co. would give publicity to the colony and encourage settlers to go there. A weekly newspaper, "The Integral Co-operator," was started at Enterprise, Kansas. With agrarian discontent sweeping through Kansas and neighboring states, this region was a fertile ground for recruits.

While the K. S. I. Co. was getting under way, Owen was again actively trying to get capital for the railroad. As we have noted, the two enterprises were complementary—additional settlers and support for the colony would promote the railroad and make it a more attractive investment; prospect of a completed railroad would encourage people to buy K. S. I. Co. stock and to settle in the colony. In June, 1890, Hoffman wrote ". . . while our people are preparing to move forward, Mr. Owen will, in all human probability, get the railroad under

²⁴From an open letter written by Owen, July 11, 1892, published in a pamphlet entitled *Pacific City Studies* Boston, 1892?, pp. 19-27.

²⁵From an article on the Kansas Sinaloa Investment Company by C. B. Hoffman, published in *Integral Co-operation at Work*, no. 2, pp. 171-174.

headway. . . . The building of this and other railroads which are now heading for our seaport will precipitate a rush of people to that region. . . ."²⁶ Owen was then on his way to New York to meet the representative of an English syndicate that had shown interest in the railroad undertaking. However, nothing seems to have come of these negotiations.

For over a year the K. S. I. Co. gave a pronounced stimulus to the colony. A party of settlers was sent to Topolobampo under its auspices in November, 1890, and others followed. The K. S. I. Co. was able to purchase a large part of the Mochis ranch and to finance the construction of an irrigation canal designed to supply the Mochis lands with water from the Fuerte River at all times of the year.

By 1892 the problem of financing the colony had again become acute, and in March of that year the financial structure of the Credit Foncier was revised to allow shares to be issued in payment of debts. A "New Definition of the Principles" was drawn up, giving the company more of the character of a business concern than it had hitherto possessed. However, Owen and Hoffman differed on several important matters, and they drifted farther and farther apart in the following months; each had supporters in the colony itself. In the summer of 1892 Owen started negotiations to liquidate the interest of the K. S. I. Co. in the colony. Early in 1893, an attempt was made to reconcile the two factions, with Michael Flürscheim²⁷ playing the role of mediator. Flürscheim's efforts were fruitless, and the gap between the two groups widened; Flürscheim found himself aligned with Hoffman. Finally, in the summer of 1893, the Hoffman faction severed its connection with the existing colony and established an independent settlement, on the land controlled by the K. S. I. Co. This colony was known as "Libertad."

We may summarize the balance of the settlement story in a few words. Antagonism between the two groups grew with

²⁶Quoted in *Integral Co-operation at Work*, no. 2, p. 176.

²⁷Michael Flürscheim had been the principal German follower of Henry George. Around 1890, he became convinced that the interests of social reform could best be served through establishing model colonies. He was converted to this point of view by the writings of Theodore Hertzka, author of *Freeland*. In 1892, Flürscheim invested \$1,000 in the K. S. I. Co., and in April of the following year made a trip to Topolobampo to assist in reorganizing the colony.

the passage of time. The leaders of each faction accused the other of irresponsibility and dishonesty, to employ only general terms. Owen and his associates voiced their charges in "The New City," published in New York, while "The Integral Co-operator" served as the organ of the Hoffman group. Within a few years both settlements were disintegrating, and by 1898 Owen admitted that his colony was completely broken up. Some persons remained, as individual settlers, in the Fuerte River country. After toying with plans to establish model colonies in the southern part of the United States, Owen again attempted to interest the Mexican government in a colony at Topolobampo, this time on a strictly "business" basis. His efforts were unsuccessful, although as late as 1906 he was submitting modified proposals to the Mexican authorities.²⁸

We may now return to the railroad venture. Owen's interest in it apparently flagged for a time, after his failure to secure aid from the English syndicate. In 1892, however, he revived the project, and in June of the same year received a new concession from the Mexican government,²⁹ authorizing the construction of a line from Topolobampo to Presidio del Norte. The contract was awarded to him personally, but Owen planned to transfer it to the Mexican-Western Railroad Co.,—probably a paper organization. Construction was to begin within one year, and the whole line was to be completed in less than ten years. The government obligated itself to pay a subsidy of 3,000 pesos per kilometer, in non-interest bearing land bonds.

This contract was associated with the colony reorganization of 1892. Owen hoped that the reorganization would bring in many new settlers, from whom he planned to recruit the labor to construct and operate the railroad. Those working on the first section (32 miles) were to be paid at the rate of \$9 for eight hours' work; they were not to receive cash, however, but railroad securities. Owen estimated that the first section could be completed within three months, and that traffic on it would yield enough to pay dividends on preferred stock as well as interest on bond issues.³⁰ The internal trouble

²⁸Leopold Katscher, "Owen's Topolobampo colony, Mexico," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1906, XII, p. 175.

²⁹Dublan and Lozano, *op. cit.*, XXII, pp. 189-190.

³⁰*Pacific City studies*, p. 23.

in the colony, already referred to, made it impossible to carry out these plans.

Owen attempted to keep the railroad project alive until 1899. He did succeed in getting further concessions from the Mexican government but was unable to accomplish anything in actual construction. In 1894, the Mexican government extended by eighteen months the time limit within which the work was to begin. In January, 1897, the concession was declared canceled, but in June of the same year a new contract was awarded to Owen. Finally, on January 2, 1899, this concession was also canceled.³¹ Thus, after more than twenty-five years of effort to promote a railroad to Topolobampo, and to his Utopian colony, Owen's connection with the venture was severed.

There is a sequel to this story. Under other auspices, part of the railroad to Topolobampo has been built. In 1900 a group headed by Arthur E. Stilwell received a concession from the Mexican government to construct the line; for this purpose they incorporated in Kansas under the name Kansas City, Mexico, & Orient Railroad. Subsequently, a number of allied companies were organized. The concessions in Mexico were more favorable than those obtained by any other railroad.³² By August, 1902, the company had completed 80 miles of line in the United States and 150 miles in Mexico, and was operating a steamship line between Port Stilwell (Topolobampo) and Guaymas.³³ Later, a contract was made with the Hamburg-American Steamship Co. for trans-Pacific service out of Topolobampo when the railroad was completed. Construction was continued until 1912, when financial difficulties forced the company into receivership. At that time, it had approximately 760 miles of line in operation, including 226 miles in Mexico. Reorganization was completed in 1914, but the company continued to suffer from operating deficits until 1922, after which Texas oil traffic enabled it to earn some net revenue. In 1928, the Santa Fe arranged to purchase the American section of the railroad, 735 miles of continuous line

³¹*Reseña histórica y estadística de los ferrocarriles de jurisdicción federal desde 1° de enero de 1895, hasta 31 de diciembre de 1899*, Mexico City, 1900, pp. 17, 45.

³²W. Rodney Long, *Railways of Mexico*, U. S. Department of Commerce, Trade promotion series, No. 16 (Washington, 1925), p. 133.

³³*Poor's Manual*, 1902, p. 1506.

between Wichita, Kansas, and Alpine, Texas. At that time, the K. C .M. & O. was operating 222 miles in Mexico, in three segments—Topolobampo to El Fuerte, Sanchez to Miñaca, and Chihuahua to Pulpito. In April, 1929, these sections were sold to D. F. Johnson and associated interests.²⁴ The difficult mountain division still remains unbuilt, and Owen's dream of a transcontinental railroad outlet at Topolobampo is yet to be realized.

²⁴*Poor's Manual*, 1929, I, p. 25.

THE INTER-TERRITORIAL FREIGHT-RATE PROBLEM OF THE SOUTHWEST

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Within recent years, as the Southwest has begun to develop industrially, the fact that this region is inflicted with freight-rate penalties and discriminations, at least in so far as class rates¹ are concerned, has become one of its most vital problems. So long as this region was content to supply nothing but raw materials to other parts of the country, most of which freight traffic moves on commodity² rates favorable to Southwestern producers, the problem did not become acute. But as soon as manufactured products were produced for shipment from the Southwest into the great consuming markets in the northern and northeastern parts of the United States a different situation arose.

Much of our present difficulties stem from the fact that the railroads of the United States developed by groups and regions, and in so doing railroad freight-rate structures corresponded more or less to the physical groupings of the roads. So, instead of having a single freight-rate structure covering the whole country, we have a composite of different regional or territorial structures. As time has gone on, the boundary lines of these rate-making territories, because of the radical difference between the rate structures in some of them, have been found to constitute barriers against the free movement of commerce, so that the situation today has become a serious sectional problem and is assuming the proportions of a serious national problem also.

The chief excuse for these barriers in the first place was the fact that there was, when they were created, a difference between costs of shipping in and between various territories. Some of these differences still exist, but the carry-over of

¹Class rates are those which apply upon the groups or classes into which the articles of commerce are divided, and which because of their characteristics, quite naturally fall together when considered from various standpoints, such as value, hazard of handling, similarity, weight and the like. Any article which is not given a special or commodity rate or covered by an exception usually takes class rates.

²A commodity rate is a special rate on specific articles, removing the application of the class basis. It usually comprehends the competitive circumstances of transportation and marketing and sometimes of manufacturing also.

the old rate structures into the present is hampering and restricting the normal development of many sections of the country, such as the Southwest, as well as the country as a whole. Among other things, they are preventing the utilization, for the benefit of all the people of the United States, of the varied natural resources that exist in different sections of the country.

Freight-rate structures as they exist in the United States today are products of gradual growth, shaped largely by the predominant economic conditions prevailing within particular territories during the periods of their evolution. No territorial freight-rate structure has been specifically designed for the accommodation of a national commerce, or with a view to promoting the uniform resources of the nation. This is true because freight-rate structures are not created over night or over a period of a year or so, but accumulate as time goes on and as various types of traffic are offered the railroads or leave the rails for other forms of transportation. As a result, it appears that economic conditions, as well as the technique of transportation, often change faster than the freight-rate structures.

There are three major freight-classification territories in the United States and more than twice that number of recognized rate-making territories, which in turn are frequently subdivided into zones and sub-territories. The greatest single consuming territory of the country is that which lies north of the Ohio and Potomac Rivers, east of the Western boundary of Illinois, south of the Canadian border, and west of the Atlantic Ocean. From a rate-making standpoint, this territory is known alternatively as the Eastern Rate Group or Official-Classification territory. Approximately fifty-one per cent of the population of the United States is found in that territory. Much of the industrial and agricultural production of the South, the Southwest and the West, if it is to be sold at all, must find a market in that area. This particular consuming territory of the North or Northeast is, however, served by a group of railroads which have devised their own intra-territorial freight-rate structure to meet the traffic conditions prevailing along their lines. During the course of time this freight-rate structure has been so constructed as to provide relatively low rates on manufactured articles. The reverse has been true in the South, the Southwest and the West.

When manufactured articles are moved from the South-

west, or any other outlying territory, to markets in the North or Northeastern part of the country, competition must generally be met from manufacturers of similar products located in what is known as Official-Classification territory³ who can

TABLE I*

COMPARISONS OF TYPICAL INTER-TERRITORIAL FIRST-CLASS FREIGHT RATES FROM SOUTHWESTERN TERRITORY TO OFFICIAL-CLASSIFICATION TERRITORY WITH CORRESPONDING RATES WITHIN OFFICIAL-CLASSIFICATION TERRITORY FOR APPROXIMATELY EQUAL DISTANCES.
(Rates stated in cents per 100 pounds)

From	To	Miles	First-Class Rates	Difference in Favor of Official Classification Territory
Dallas, Texas	Chicago, Ill.	905	261	92
Chicago, Ill.	Burlington, Vt.	909	169	
Fort Worth, Texas	Cincinnati, Ohio	962	268	
Cincinnati, Ohio	Portland, Maine	964	169	99
Dallas, Texas	Indianapolis, Ind.	861	259	
Indianapolis, Ind.	Springfield, Mass.	863	160	99
Galveston, Texas	Indianapolis, Ind.	997	277	
Indianapolis, Ind.	Portland, Maine	1009	171	106
Austin, Texas	Cincinnati, Ohio	1097	297	
Cincinnati, Ohio	Bangor, Maine	1098	184	113
San Antonio, Texas	Cincinnati, Ohio	1175	314	
Springfield, Ill.	Portland, Maine	1181	190	124
Laredo, Texas	Springfield, Ill.	1157	333	
Milwaukee, Wis.	Bangor, Maine	1159	189	144
El Paso, Texas	Springfield, Ill.	1236	363	
Springfield, Ill.	Lewiston, Me.	1216	190	173

*Table compiled from *House Document No. 271*, 76th Congress, 1st Session, Table XXIV.

³Official-Classification territory is that part of the country north of the Ohio River and of the Main line of the Norfolk and Western Railway from Kenova, W. Va., to Norfolk and last of a line from Chicago through Peoria, Ill., to St. Louis.

reach the same consuming points on intra-territorial freight rates that are considerably lower mile for mile, than the inter-territorial rates which outside manufacturers are compelled to pay. This causes a decidedly discriminatory situation as far as manufacturers outside the Official-Classification territory are concerned. The results in certain cases are illustrated by Table I.

In some cases the discrimination against particular manufacturers, created by the lack of harmony between the different freight-rate territories have been smoothed out somewhat by voluntary action of the railroads, and in other cases by the official action of the Interstate Commerce Commission. But what is needed is the establishment of a uniform principle for the making of inter-territorial freight rates, otherwise the different groups of railroads involved will continue to disagree, as they have in the past, as to what any new or revised basis of rates should be. This places new industries, particularly the smaller ones, at a serious disadvantage in obtaining freight rates which will enable them to reach their largest markets. The usual process in obtaining rate revisions, where existing rates are not satisfactorily adjusted to the requirements of an industry, is, first, to ask the railroads to take voluntary action in the matter. When separate groups of railroads are concerned the chances for disagreement, prolonged negotiations, and ultimate failure are so great that it is almost impossible for an individual manufacturer to gain any concessions and most discouraging to an industry. An appeal to the Interstate Commerce Commission in every case would entail expensive delay and should not be necessary if a way can be found to make a more certain and definite base for the making of all inter-territorial freight rates.

Since the inter-territorial freight-rate problem of the Southwest grows out of the existence of incongruous intra-territorial rate structures, it will aid in the understanding of the inter-territorial problem if certain aspects of the Southwestern intra-territorial structure are understood. The present intra-territorial adjustment of freight rates in the Southwest is the result of a comprehensive decision of the Interstate Commerce Commission made in April, 1927, but since modified by various supplemental decisions.⁴

Southwestern territory is now divided into two major

⁴*Consolidated Southwestern Cases*, 123 I. C. C. 203.

rate zones, III and IV. Zone III embraces all of Southwestern territory, including stations in Arkansas, Louisiana west of Mississippi River and Texas and Oklahoma east of the old Texas and Oklahoma differential territories. These differential territories include 30 per cent of Southwestern territory, including roughly the portion of Texas and Oklahoma west of a line drawn through Corpus Christi, San Antonio, San Angelo, Midland, Lubbock, and Amarillo, Texas, northeast and then north so as to include the Panhandle section of Oklahoma west of the 100th meridian.⁵

Maximum interstate freight rates between points in Southwestern zone III territory and between points in this zone and east-bank Mississippi River gateways, Memphis and south, are constructed on the so-called zone III mileage scale applied to the respective through distances. When the rate-making routes extend in part through zone IV territory, or terminate in zone IV territory, arbitraries or differentials as they are usually called, which are about equal to fifteen per cent of the zone III rate for the same distance, are added for the distances traversed by the routes in zone IV territory, which is the higher-rated territory. Thus, for that part of the haul in Zone IV territory the rate is approximately 115 per cent of the zone III rate for the same distance.

Rates for interstate application between points in higher-rated zone IV, including those applicable over routes through eastern New Mexico, are made on the maximum mileage scale provided for application in zone IV.

The percentage relationship of classes lower than first-class, or column 1, rates to be used in the application of freight rates between points in Southwestern territory are governed by the Western Freight Classification. There are more than 300 special commodities, in addition to the articles covered by the freight classification itself, assigned to these various columns. In all, there are 26 columns of rates which are stated as various percentage of first class considered as 100.

This intra-territorial rate situation will soon be modified to a considerable degree, at least in so far as Texas is concerned, because of a recent order of the Railroad Commission of Texas. This body has recently ruled that all differential rates applying in connection with rates of the common carrier railroads, rail transport companies, common and contract

⁵196 I. C. C. 507, 509.

motor carriers, intra-state in Texas, including special differentials, shall be suspended as of November 20, 1939.⁶

The present inter-territorial rates between Southwestern Territory and Official-Classification Territory were also prescribed by the Interstate Commerce Commission in *Consolidated Southwestern Cases*, together with supplemental decisions of which there have been some twenty-five. Key or basing⁷ rates are provided for application between specified basing points in Southwestern territory and points in Official-Classification territory. There are 135 such rate points in the Southwest from which base rates are published to 83 important market centers in Official-Classification territory. Whenever any point, important from a commercial or population point of view, is more than fifty miles (or in Southwestern Zone IV, more than 100 miles) from a more distant basing point in the general direction of a short-line inter-territorial route, the railroads are required to publish specific rates to or from these points graded in with the prescribed corresponding base rates in the same area. These base rates conform to distance to some extent, but they are not strictly distance or mileage rates.

Rates between points in that part of Official-Classification territory known as Central-Freight-Association territory, where key or base rates are not provided and which are not grouped with base rates points, on the one hand, and points or groups in Southwestern territory on the other hand, are constructed on the so-called "basic scale" applied to the through-rate-making distances plus the combined zones I, II, III and IV arbitraries or differentials⁸ for the aggregate distance *within* these respective zones. The key rates being observed in all cases as maxima.

The Western Freight Classification governs, as a general rule, rates between Southwestern territory on the one hand, and Official-Classification territory on the other. The Official Classification governs the intra-territorial rates in Official-Classification territory. A fairly accurate idea as to the

⁶Railroad Freight Circular No. 12798, (Docket No. 3642. R-T.)

⁷A basing rate is used as the principal factor in the construction of a through rate. When so used it is not complete in itself, but is used in conjunction with another rate.

⁸Differential rates are those established by adding fixed amounts to, or subtracting them from, certain basic rates which are regarded as standard rates in effect to or from base points.

differences in the inter-territorial rates on classes of freight lower than first class, from Southwestern territory to points in Official-Classification territory, may be obtained by applying the class-percentage relationships shown in Table II to the appropriate comparisons of first-class rates as shown in Table I.

TABLE II

WESTERN AND OFFICIAL-CLASSIFICATION CLASS PERCENTAGES

Western Classes ---	1	2	3	4	A	5	B	C	D	E
Percentages -----	100	85	70	55	45	37.5	32.5	30	22.5	17.5
Official Classes ----	1	2	3-R25	R26	4	5	6			
Percentages -----	100	85	70	55	50	35	27.5			

The prevailing direction of commodity movement in the Southwest is outbound. In other words, the Southwestern section of the country produces more freight in terms of tons than it consumes. This excess of outbound movement over the inbound movement is due to a high productive capacity in a territory of relatively small population. To market the excess over local needs it is necessary, therefore, to send it to other territories for sale. Much of this outbound movement is, however, on commodity rates which are lower than class rates. Also it must be borne in mind that some class rates in the Southwestern territory are lower than those for the same commodities in Official-Classification territory because there is no movement of this type of traffic in the latter territory.

From this discussion it will be seen that a very serious situation exists and that one of the most pressing problems is to find an effective method of removing these barriers, which have been created by the evolution and continued existence of different regional or territorial freight-rate structures. There appear to be two ways to approach this problem and to bring an adjustment about: First, through Congress in an amendment to the present Transportation Act to correct the original differences as far as possible. Congress has generalized too much in the past on what a reasonable rate shall be. On the other hand, Congress has particularized on what shall be considered discrimination by defining discrimination as between persons, places and particular descriptions of traffic. Congress, however, has never inserted a word about regional discrimination in any transportation legislation. An attempt

to bring about Congressional action on this score was originated in 1937 in the first session of the Seventy-fifth Congress by the Tennessee Valley Authority and renewed in the first session of the Seventy-sixth Congress.⁹ The second method of bringing about a correction is through action by the Interstate Commerce Commission as a result of a complaint brought by interested parties. The Southern Governors' Case¹⁰ originating in 1937 as the culmination of numerous complaints by shippers extending over several years, is an example of this method of approach. This case, now pending before the Interstate Commerce Commission, does not, however, involve all rates but only certain ones from Southern Territory, by which it is hoped to set a precedent for attacking the whole problem of inter-territorial class rate discriminations.¹¹ Another approach to the problem by the second method is contemplated by the State of Texas acting through the Attorney General who was authorized by the 46th Texas Legislature to prepare, file and prosecute cases before the Interstate Commerce Commission for the purpose of "equating the level of all interstate rates to, from and between points in the State of Texas with those of the Central or Official Zone."

⁹See *The Interterritorial Freight Rate Problem of the United States*, 75th Congress, 1st Session, House Document No. 264 and *Supplemental Phases of the Interterritorial Freight Rate Problem of the United States*, 76th Congress 1st Session, House Document, No. 271.

¹⁰I. C. C. Docket No. 27746, *State of Alabama et al vs. The New York Central et al.*

¹¹At the beginning the commodities to be covered in this complaint were more inclusive. Later, however, the number was considerably reduced so that the complaint as finally filed covered rates on: stoves, stone, boots and shoes, canned goods, cordage, drugs and medicines, electrical supplies, excelsior, fire hydrants, valves and brass pipe fittings, metal furniture, paper articles, plumbers' goods, pottery, and soapstone and talc.

METHODS AND PLACE OF STATISTICAL TESTS IN FARM MANAGEMENT RESEARCH

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Surveys are devices of economists and others, which are designed to "stop" action and obtain a cross-section in our dynamic universe—a process which might be compared with a camera in photography. In photography the object should be studied, the camera focused, and the exposure timed to preserve upon the negative the dynamic position of some moving object. In developing the negative, very exacting amounts of selected chemicals are used and sometimes slight variations in the formula will bring out otherwise indistinct or fuzzy pictures. The survey should likewise be focused and timed to record some definite objective. Economic survey data are then developed through the medium of statistical methods and it is necessary to use selected formulas on different types of data in order to get clear and distinct pictures upon which we may base conclusions.

Being more acquainted with research methods in the farm management field, the writer will cite all examples from surveys in that field and take principally from studies that have been carried on in the Southern High Plains Area. However, he believes that the general principles involved will carry over into any other phase of economic research. Farm Management surveys and research are justified by either of two reasons: First, they preserve a written record for historians, of farming experience as of a given date. This first reason is of little contemporary value. However, as time marches on it may contribute considerably, because in our ever-changing universe it is doubtful if the combination of variables existing today will exist in exactly the same relationship in the near future.

The second, that of "stopping" dynamic economic action, allows us the opportunity to study some definitely defined causes and effects and, further, to determine the intensity of the effect existing within the circumscribed universe. This second point affords considerable contemporary utility by furnishing guide posts which can be used to determine the combination of factors that will bring the farm organization into balance and thus insure a desirable farm income over a period of years.

Essential considerations in any such studies call for clear and distinct conclusions from economic surveys, in that the figures cited should answer and define not only the central tendency but also should indicate some measure of dispersion within the universe. By following this practice, we only have to defend the conclusions drawn and not the universe. Another consideration should deal with limitations of the sample and the conclusions which should be expressed in quantitative rather than qualitative terms. Further, the limitations of a universe, for which the conclusions drawn from the limited sample may be expanded, should be studied; and, finally, the probable recurrence of any given observation within the universe under defined conditions, should be determined. If we answer these four points the sample must be explored beyond the point of determining central tendency.

We have a group of parameters of dispersion known as standard errors which contribute materially to intelligent interpretation of data. Included in the standard errors is the standard error of estimate for either linear, multiple, or joint correlation, which is nothing more than the standard deviation of the dependent variable reduced by the per cent of determination. It is well known that all multiple correlation approach methods must be used with caution and, consequently, any standard error of estimate determined from this approach should be used with caution. At one time the writer was of the opinion that multiple correlation was the final answer to any researcher's prayer, but he has since found other methods more reliable and less tedious.

One instance may be cited where multiple correlation does not answer the desired question. The example is based on 180 farm records taken in Baca county, Colorado, for the crop year 1936. Baca county is located in the center of the Dust Bowl and crop production has been very low during the past few years. In one multiple correlation problem total acres, crop index, and number of productive livestock units were used as the X2, X3 and X4 variables, and farm labor income as the X1 variable.

The three independent variables meet the general requirements for multiple correlation in that there should be a minimum of intercorrelation between the independent variables. On the face of it, it would appear that there was no reason why multiple correlation should not answer some of the desired questions. Productive livestock contributed only a very small

amount to the total correlation, and was not significantly associated with total acres, as might be expected. Further study indicated that the number of livestock on farms of varying sizes in Baca county was purely a "happen so", with the exception, of course, of large ranches. However, in this correlation, crop index and total acres in farm accounted for about 50 percent of the total correlation. The average crop index was so low that the average farm labor income was a minus quantity and the larger the farm the larger the average losses incurred. This gave us a *b* coefficient of our X2 variable of a minus quantity, while X3 and X4 were held constant at their averages and the effects due to their changes eliminated. The crop index *b* coefficient, or the X3 variable, was positive when X2 and X4 were held constant at their averages.

When the *b* coefficients were used to project an estimated farm labor income, the larger the farm the greater the loss, irrespective of the size of the crop index. This is obviously wrong. It is merely saying that a 960-acre farm could never make as much income as a 160-acre farm, even though the function of crop index were expanded to infinity. Now then, on the other hand, had the average crop index been sufficiently high to have returned these same farms a net farm labor income, the 960-acre farms theoretically would not have lost as much money as the 160-acre farms, even though each farm would have had a complete crop failure simply because the *b* coefficient for total acres would, in this instance, have been positive and the functional slope always would have been positive.

The fallacy of the multiple correlation approach can be overcome to some extent by using joint correlation on the same data simply because with joint correlation each independent variable is permitted to fluctuate independently with the dependent variable and is never held constant at its average as is done in multiple correlation. The chief fallacy that is not overcome with either multiple or joint correlation is that the calculated standard error of estimate does not vary with the magnitudes of the independent variables, but is constant within its defined limits of approximately 2/3 of the observations for any or all combinations of independent variables. This fact can be demonstrated by comparing the standard error of estimate of a joint correlation, in which total acres and crop index were used as the independent variables and farm labor income as the dependent variable. The standard error of

estimate on this joint correlation is \$612. If these same data are sorted and linear correlations worked on each of the varying sizes of farms, it is found that the standard error of estimate for the individual correlations varies from less than \$200 on the 160-acre farms to more than \$1200 on the 1,440-acre farms. This reflects the fact that there is considerably more variance and more possibilities in unexplained factors on the larger farms than on the smaller farms. However, theoretically the standard error of estimate is the same on the 160-acre farms as on the 1,440-acre farms when we combine all of these factors into a joint correlation.

The standard error of correlation coefficients has very little practical value, primarily because the coefficient itself is an abstract number and only takes on significance when converted into a coefficient of determination. However, standard errors of correlation coefficients are probably quoted more, in proportion to the number of coefficients of correlation that are quoted, than any other of our measures of dispersion. It is very easy to understand why this situation exists. It exists primarily because after we have calculated the coefficient of correlation we have available all of the figures necessary to calculate the standard error of correlation.

All measures of departure, association, or dispersion hinge upon the standard deviation formula. In one form or another it appears in all correlation, Chi square, and any standard error calculation. The writer firmly believes that calculating standard deviations is more than justified because of their diversity of use. It would be well to consider briefly the basic probabilities which give standard errors their utility. Fisher's table of t and Ezekiel's table of A are, fundamentally, Pearson's table of x which gives the probable area under the normal curve. Some one of these tables is always readily available, but with a large number of calculations considerable time is lost in interpolating between observations which are indicated in any of the tables. This problem is easily overcome by plotting any of these tables on semi-log graph paper with the number of standard errors on the x -axis and the quoted probabilities on the y -axis.

The big advantage of using semi-log graph paper is that smaller probabilities are expanded sufficiently to be easily read. You have all observed these data plotted on arithmetic graph paper and know it is impossible to read the observations in excess of two standard errors. The probabilities of area

under the normal curve which are now on the left-hand edge of the chart, may be converted into probable odds with the ratio quoted to "1", and entered on the right-hand edge of the chart. Probable odds have a more significant meaning to a majority of people than quoted probabilities. It will register better with the layman to say the odds are 20 to 1 than to say that probabilities are .05. For instance, the farmers whose major crop was wheat have one chance in 10 of their incomes exceeding \$1,000, while farmers whose major crop was grain sorghum have only one chance in 20 for their incomes exceeding \$1,000. To put this statement in good scientific language, we would say the probabilities of these farmers' incomes exceeding \$1,000 are .10 and .05 respectively.

The impression should not be given that the mean as a measure of central tendency is not an essential part of the calculations. However, by definition, the odds are even for recurrence either above or below the mean in a normal universe and if the mean is the only parameter of the universe upon which to base conclusions we have not advanced much farther than an outright guess. For the two groups of farms just cited the mean income for the wheat farmers was $-\$1192 \pm 146$ and the standard deviation equals $\pm \$1700$. The grain sorghum farmers' mean income was $-\$51 \pm 120$ and the standard deviation is $\pm \$632$. It can be concluded that under similar conditions existing in Seward county, Kansas, in 1936 a wheat farmer has a fifty-fifty chance of his farm labor income being more than a $-\$1192$ and a grain sorghum farmer of his income being less than a $-\$51$. These means represent universes that are significantly different, $t = 3.03$ and the odds are about one chance in 300 that the observed difference of the means was a statistical "happen so". However, some farmers in each universe will have net losses of \$1,000 or more and some in each universe will break even and some in each universe will have profits exceeding \$1,000. This situation should be very definitely recognized in the analysis of farm management data.

We can determine the probable recurrence in any universe by using Pearson's table of x . This table has further utility in determining whether or not the means are significantly different, or if we have established homogeneity in universes by sorting, or if the observed difference of the mean is merely a statistical "happen so". The ratio between the difference of the means cited and the summation of the respective stand-

ard errors of the means give us a very good indication upon which to enter Pearson's table of x . This is fundamentally the principle involved in the variance method of analysis and the basis for the use of Fisher's table of t which is used so extensively in some of the other sciences. It has the added utility that new combinations can be made by merely calculating the above suggested ratio. When using Fisher's method it is necessary to make each calculation separately and when the final entry into the " t " table is made it will only apply to the two means in the original calculation.

What is meant is that by this method we are calculating the standard errors for each of the means separately and do not attempt to determine significant difference except as the last step. On the other hand Fisher injects the difference of the means, and the variance of this difference, so far back in his formula that it is necessary to calculate separately each and every entrance into the table. This ratio between the difference of the means and the summation of the standard errors of the mean is about 33 percent larger than that obtained by using Fisher's formula. With the means of $-\$1192 \pm 146$ and $-\$51 \pm 120$, the ratio is 4.28 compared with $t = 3.03$.

The writer has found that the easiest way to determine the standard deviation and subsequently the standard error of the mean is to tabulate the original data on cards and enter the square of the original item in the adjoining space. The cards are then sorted to establish homogeneity. The summation of the X^2 is obtained at the same time as the summation of the X . At the time the average of the X 's is calculated we can also proceed to calculate the standard deviation, putting into the calculator the summation of the X^2 s. Completely reverse the operation of the calculating machine and subtract from the summation of X^2 the summation of the X 's times the mean of the X 's. This calculation gives the summation of the deviations, squared; and combines two operations in the formula for determining standard deviation.

We have used a system similar to this with the Hollerith tabulating machine. We used two series of cards. On one series of cards, we had 24 control items and the remainder of the 80 columns carried the original items. These were tabulated on each of the 24 controls. Another series of cards, in which the controls were punched identical with the original cards, and in which we punched the squares of the original

items, were tabulated. With this process, it is very easy to determine a large number of standard deviations and standard errors and thus actually study various universes with a minimum of clerical help.

For the number of means that are quoted the standard error is by far the least quoted of all dispersion estimates. We cite a mean and lead our readers to believe that this mean is a gospel fact, then we imply that the cited mean from the sample represents absolutely the mean of the entire universe regardless of the number of observations or the dispersion of the individual observations making up the sample. Such, however, is not the case and all we should indicate is that the cited mean represents just one of the number of means that might have been observed and through the use of the standard error of the mean we have an estimate of the sphere within which the true mean of the universe does fall. This sphere is really more important to clear cut conclusions than knowing the mean of our sample. Statistical chance is so fickle that it is essential to use some measure of dispersion along with any measure of central tendency.

There are so many factors influencing the organization and profits or losses on farms that it is very difficult to select a homogeneous sample even on a single factor. Consequently, we resort to sorts and subsorts in an effort to establish homogeneity. We can expect to have the means and sub-sorts somewhat different from the mean of the entire sample. However, even though some slight trend may be indicated from the means, if we investigate the dispersion of the subsamples, they may indicate as heterogeneous a situation as we had when the entire sample was being observed. This is a real problem in statistical research. We cannot hope to advance our field very far or fast if we continually advance theories based upon average trends whose universes did not reflect significant increased homogeneity.

Unless we previously determine probabilities of recurrence and know considerable about our universes it is doubtful if our predictions or conclusions will turn out as indicated. In discussing the quoting of standard errors of mean with others in our field, the argument has been presented that the standard errors of the mean were so large they did not indicate anything. The rebuttal to this argument is, the means never did indicate anything significant; and researchers taking this attitude fall into one of three classifications:

1. They have a preconceived thesis to prove and want to discard all adverse data as not being representative.
2. They appear anxious to burst forth into print, and are afraid to quote standard errors of mean or some other method of dispersion because their drawn conclusions obviously do not stand up.
3. A third class might include those who do not care to take the time to work out the tests.

We economists are accused constantly of hedging our statements and being very vague. One notoriously trite standby is to start a statement with "relatively speaking." If it were possible to leave this or similar statements out of our writing and let the readers know how relative the situation was by quoting some measure of dispersion, and let him draw his own conclusions on the reliability of the data cited, we should advance our science farther and faster. We must know more about any given universe upon which we are basing our fundamental thinking and conclusions than some measure of central tendency. We must know more about the probabilities of success or failure of any proposed project or program, if we are to achieve its objectives with maximum efficiency.

THE ROLE OF SMALL GROUPS IN THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION¹

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Suppose that one of the pressure groups in this country does not resign to that share of power and influence which it is able to exercise within the existing balance of rival forces. Suppose that one of the existing pressure groups turns Communist or Fascist, to mention only two of several possibilities of an intransigent opposition. It is unlikely that a Fascist or Communist campaign conducted in public will, in itself, bring about a radical change in the balance of influence over public opinion, for most of the instruments of control over mass opinion are under the joint or alternating control of well entrenched, and to a certain extent cooperating, organizations, such as both parties, trade unions, industrial associations, and church organizations. A public campaign of Fascists or Communists or any other outsider group is likely to succeed only if it is accompanied by a campaign conducted through private and neutral channels which have not been closed or taken over by opponents. Such neutral channels might be associations of the type of the Boy Scouts' organization, of the Pentacostal sect, the American Legion, the Masons and other such fraternal organizations in which masses are integrated around neutral, that is to say, non-political and non-promotional, symbols in small face-to-face groups. It is the neutral and institutional character of such groups that makes them a potential vantage ground for strategic movements which may have no prospect of success so long as they restrict themselves to public propaganda alone.

The writer has no evidence, and does not mean to imply, that such movements are in process of development in this country. It is his chief purpose only to call attention to a particular *technique* of building up and controlling mass movements—a technique that has been used successfully in several instances in the past to disseminate propaganda and to bring about a redistribution of political power, a technique of influencing public opinion through the intimate channels of neutral face-to-face groups. It is this *intimate* type of propa-

¹This paper was read before the *Southwestern Sociological Society* at its meeting in Dallas, April 7-8, 1939.

ganda through small groups which makes the more widely familiar public propaganda effective.

Before indicating in more detailed fashion how such strategy works, using the current example of the rise of National Socialism in Germany, the writer points out that the technique itself is not new. It was used in the 18th century, as he has tried to show in his book on Public Opinion. During the 19th century many national movements and practically all movements of suppressed minorities used it. Examples are the Czech Sokols, the Italian Carbonari, the French Jacobine Clubs, and other such organizations among Serbs, Poles, Greeks, etc. The dominant pattern was what may be called the dual organization, an organization that consisted, on the one hand, of a neutral sector with fraternal and non-political aims and symbols, and, on the other hand, of a promotional sector with definite political ends to be achieved beyond the association through its means. It may be pointed out here that this type of organization represents historically one of the most successful patterns for the control of mass movements by outside groups. The neutral, non-political *substratum* of these organizations was made up of a great number of small face-to-face associations, organized, as just pointed out, around neutral symbols and non-political activities. The basic formation of the Czech Sokols were gymnastic clubs. The substructure of the so-called Polish National Masons was formed of local lodges, practicing the Masonic ritual. Other organizations were composed of literary circles, bookclubs, or ethical societies. In all cases they were essentially neutral fraternities. No explicit political understandings brought their members together, but the groups were always select in membership. Many of these neutral clubs existed before they became imperceptibly annexed to definite political organizations; many, however, were creations of political committees. Undoubtedly, these fraternal societies frequently served to screen political activities which were conducted in another division of the same organization, but the neutral and non-promotional character also served to attract and influence politically indifferent masses.

The other side of the organizations, the *superstratum*, let us say, was generally concealed both from the public and from most of the members of the fraternal section. It was composed of members with a definite political understanding and a clear vision of and an active role in the strategy of the

movement as a whole. This political superstratum was centralized and it exercised an inconspicuous control over the activities of the seemingly autonomous fraternal societies. In some cases a number of intermediary strata linked the two extreme ends of the hierarchy, so that the organization as a whole consisted of a number of well-separated concentric circles. Members of the inner circle sometimes participated in the activities of the more peripheral fraternal societies, but the members of these outer groups had no insight into the nature and purpose of the activities conducted in the strategic inner circles. The neutral and outer sections were recruiting fields for officers and members to be admitted to more restricted circles of the organization. This complex structure gave the movement a slowly increasing influence over its followers, an influence that is lasting and which can be hardly exercised through any other medium of persuasion. These complex associations produced then that nationalistic mass consensus without which the ultimate rise of Greek, Serb, Czech, Italian, and Polish independence is hardly conceivable.

After these historical references illustration will be offered of an adaptation of this strategy to modern conditions, to post-war Germany in particular. The growth of the National-Socialist mass movement is just as unthinkable without that propaganda technique as were the European irredenta movements of the 19th century.

With the collapse of Imperial Germany in 1918 a new democratic balance of power began to operate within the framework of the new republic. A new system of joint control over political key-positions by rival parties was established and as a result the liberal parties, the Catholic party, and the Social Democratic party, including the Trade-Unions, came to cooperate in the exercise of power within and outside the administrative machinery. The only intransigent opposition that did not accommodate to the new combination of forces came from the Communists and the conservative National party.

The Communists used both propaganda methods—the public one through their press, their meeting hall campaigns and their parliamentary representation, and they also carried on a submerged agitation by organizing secret cells within the Trade-Unions and the Social-Democratic party. These tactics were well in line with the recommendations of Lenin. It is noteworthy, however, that the Communists penetrated only

into organizations more or less politically oriented but they did not set foot in neutral mass organizations to any significant extent, and this is one of the reasons why the Communists did not become a dynamically expanding mass party. In spite of the first five years of militant campaigning, armed uprisings, and the social crisis, the Communist movement became stagnant and did not increase its influence beyond the limits of a minority party.

The National party, the other uncompromising opponent of the Republic, failed partly for the same reason. It made no secret of its belief in the need for a resurrected Imperial Germany that was to be expansive and militaristic again. The National party was a stationary organization. It controlled a certain part of the press, the army, and of the local administration, but its propaganda methods, and its program were not adapted to a mass democracy. As a result, the National party did not succeed in extending its influence beyond its pre-war supporters, and that was a stable minority. However, the party realized its limited potentialities and gave wholehearted support to an uncompromising nationalistic movement that was then too small to have a parliamentary representation and which rose to power 14 years later. In other words, the National party with its inherited body of permanent supporters could not increase its followers to any significant extent, while the Nazis, steering essentially in the same direction, were able to develop from a mere handful to the dominant party in the country. The crucial question now facing us is this: what was the propaganda and organizational strategy that contributed to the dynamic growth and final success of the National-Socialistic movement?

In restricting the question to one of strategy the writer does not hold that there were no other factors that contributed to the rise of National-Socialism. All he intends to demonstrate is the fact that without the use of the particular strategy indicated in the beginning the Nazi movement could not have made its spectacular success. The Nazis launched their campaign on two fronts: in the public, through their limited press, and in their open meetings, on the one hand, and in the intimate sphere of the closely knit youth organizations on the other. Their public propaganda was not effective until they succeeded in penetrating into the wide-spread youth organizations. Treatment is concentrated on this phase of their strategy.

The so-called free or independent youth movement was a more or less spontaneous expression of a collective protest of, mostly, high-school students against what was felt an oppressive parental and school authority. Its spontaneous character is shown by its rapid spread throughout Germany at the beginning of the 20th century. Groups of from 5 to 20 boys and girls ranging in age from 12 to 22 years met weekly for discussion and for hiking trips over the week-ends. These youth groups had what may be called a fraternal structure. Limited membership, person-to-person rapport, self-elected leadership, a fraternal *esprit de corps*, and neutral aims and activities were characteristic of these associations. Their ends were neutral and intra-fraternal in the sense that they had no articulate program to be achieved outside the group. While a certain democratic and liberal consensus was predominant in most of these clubs, they were not committed to any political creed or party. However, the back-to-nature romanticism did express a common reaction against what may be called the urban gentleman's culture. They discarded the popular beer drinking habit, modern dances, rag-time music, the neck-tie, the hat, the civic apparel, and introduced shorts, a special hiking dress, fraternal badges with Germanic runes, and they cultivated folk dances, rural songs, and revived the Germanic solstice ceremonies. All these paraphernalia and customs became the fraternal symbols of a politically inarticulate movement.

These organizations represented the only neutral and popular mass movement that survived the collapse of Imperial Germany. The Nazis soon recognized the strategic importance of these associations and their symbols. Neutral mass symbols represent an established group rapport, an inarticulate group consensus, and collective emotions arising out of common experiences. A movement that is integrated around neutral symbols rather than formulated creeds, under certain conditions, can be redirected into political channels by a political party that is able to appropriate its symbols and to give them a political meaning. The Nazi party adopted the popular symbols of the Youth Movement. It appropriated not only the solstice ceremonies and Germanic revivals but also its rural predilections, hiking trips, its emphasis on the autonomy of the youth, and, above all, its fraternal organization. The Nazi party was, from its start, organized on a fraternal basis, including the emphasis on symbolic integration

rather than on conformity in program. The basic unit of the party was the local group of a small number of members having a person-to-person rapport. This fraternal unit was superimposed by a centralized party apparatus exercising control from the top to the bottom.

But more important than the adaptation of the Nazi party to the Youth Movement was its imperceptible penetration into the Youth organizations. The Nazi party absorbed increasing parts of these associations and the remaining ones became increasingly dependent on the Nazi interpretation of their symbols. In the course of this general reorientation the folk dances and folk songs became symbolic of the racial unity of the Germanic parts of Europe and, particularly, of the German minorities in Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Roumania, and elsewhere. More and more hiking trips into Central, Eastern and Southern Europe were organized and the conception of a continental empire re-uniting the descendants of the ancient Germanic tribes became incorporated into the consensus of the youth groups.

It was the generation that went through this youth movement with which Hitler has won his public campaigns and it was this section of the population that decided the elections of 1928-33 in favor of National Socialism. It was this double front strategy that gave the Nazi movement a tactical superiority over both its opponents and allies. To be sure, all other parties had their own partisan youth organizations but none of the other parties did adapt its propaganda technique to the politically unattached fraternal organizations where a substantial part of the non-partisan voters were to be found. In conclusion, a few tentative remarks of a more general kind will help to clarify the trend of this discussion.

Statistics of several countries have shown that most parliamentary parties have a more or less constant nucleus of voters. The major electoral changes and landslides are effected both by activated non-voters and by the mass of non-partisan voters who customarily change their political sympathies. Intransigent parties or movements that oppose the status quo most likely will concentrate on these two major sectors of the electorate. An effective and lasting control over these masses is, according to recent as well as historical experiences, attainable through a double front strategy. The means of this strategy are the direct or public propaganda and the indirect or person-to-person approach. It is this lat-

ter method that can be most successful in obtaining control over the politically indifferent masses. This will be the case particularly if the key positions of public propaganda are under the control of politically well entrenched opponents. It is for this reason that neutral organizations integrating large masses in small face-to-face associations may become politically significant whenever an ambitious and uncompromising opposition becomes active.

ANCIENT PALESTINE: THE EVOLUTION OF AN ADVANCED RELIGION

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The international forces of ancient Oriental civilization focused in that mountainous section of Asia located along the southeastern shore of Mediterranean Sea. This moderately productive land, lying between the sea and desert Arabia, served as a bridge or contact land between ancient civilizations which flourished in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Asia Minor. Its central location made the area highly strategic, both in time of peace and of war, and the forces—commercial, political, and military—which converged there were so powerful that the native peoples were unable to control them. The central location of this region among the great nations of the ancient Oriental world involved its inhabitants in many of the great contests which raged in that section. It gave the Syrian states key positions in world affairs, but brought repeated hardship and disaster upon their peoples.

The principal mountain ranges and lowlands of this region extend in a northeast-southwesterly direction from the Mesopotamian plain and Asia Minor to the Isthmus of Suez, the entrance to Egypt. To the east and southeast stretch the inhospitable wastes of desert Arabia, while on the west the land is bordered by the Mediterranean Sea. Therefore the lowlands of the region such as the narrow coastal plain and the valleys of the Jordan and Orontes rivers have always been choice routes for trade and travel as well as for military expeditions ranging between Egypt, Asia Minor, and the Tigris-Euphrates country. The central part of the plain of Esdraelon, which connects the Jordan Valley and the coastal plain in the northern interior of Palestine, has probably been the scene of more battles than any other place in the world.

The resources of this Syrian region were too meager and divided to enable development there of a great imperial nation. The peoples of the section—like its plains, rivers, and mountains—were small. They did not create civilizations. Rather civilization was thrust upon them by their masterful neighbors. Yet two of these peoples, the Israelites and the Phoenicians, developed considerable originality; and their locations contributed to the wide dissemination of their influence. It is with the former people that this paper is concerned.

Palestine is the "Promised Land" of the Old Testament. According to the book of Genesis, God, called Yahweh or Jehovah, repeatedly promised Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob that their descendants would become a nation, and that he would give them Palestine, then called the Land of Canaan, to occupy as a national home. The land is situated in the southern portion of the Syrian region. In ancient times its essential parts were the valley of the Jordan River, including the Sea of Galilee (Lake Tiberias) and the Dead Sea, and the adjoining highlands to the westward where Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Samaria were situated. At times the Israelites also held parts of the coastal plain along the Mediterranean and the highlands which lie east of the Jordan Valley.

Palestine is a rather small and poor country although it is described in the Old Testament as a land "flowing with milk and honey." The valley of Jordan River is about 130 miles long, and the stream itself is from 75 to 100 miles inland from the Mediterranean. The area actually occupied by the Israelites extended about 150 miles from north to south and was perhaps half that broad.

Much of the country is desert or semi-desert, and stony thin-soiled hills are abundant. Thus on the east and south Palestine merges with the arid lands of Arabia and the Isthmus of Suez respectively. Even the coastal plain is desert in the southern part of the country, and thirsty lowlands and slopes extend far northward along the Dead Sea and the Jordan River. This section is below sea level, and winds from the Mediterranean which deposit moisture upon the Palestinian highlands bring little rainfall here.

The arable lands of the country are largely confined to the coastal plain northward from Jaffa and to the central highland section about Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Samaria. This latter section is the best watered and most productive part of the country, but much of its area is so rugged and cluttered with fragments of the underlying limestone and basalt formations that cultivation is severely handicapped. It is only in the small well watered plains and valleys and where land can be irrigated that highly productive fields are found. Doubtless the desert background of the Hebrews explains why they described Palestine as a land of remarkable fertility. It is obviously much more productive than the desert and steppe grazing lands which they were accustomed to roam.

GROWTH OF THE HEBREW NATION

Genesis, the first book of the Old Testament, traces the origin of the Israelite or Hebrew people to Abram (also called Abraham), a native of the city of Ur which was located near the mouth of the Euphrates River. With his family, his servants, and all his possessions, Abram journeyed westward to the land of Canaan. He was a pastoral nomadic leader, the patriarch of his household or clan. His possessions included sheep, oxen, camels, men-servants, and maid-servants. With his people he moved from place to place digging wells and seeking pasturage and water for the livestock. He visited Egypt during a period of famine, and his subjects included Egyptians as well as people from other lands.

Isaac and Jacob, Abram's son and grandson respectively, lived much as their progenitor had done. Like him they chose wives from the families of close relatives in southern Babylonia. The book of Genesis describes them as the leaders or patriarchs of nomadic clans which roamed through the land of Canaan and adjacent areas seeking pasturage for their livestock and sources of water supply. They dug and improved wells,¹ and built altars upon which they offered sacrifices to their God.

When Jacob had become an old man a great famine visited the land. As a result he and all his people moved into Egypt where grain could be secured for use as food and livestock feed. There the Israelites prospered and multiplied for a time, but Egyptian persecution became so severe that the people finally fled from that country under the leadership of Moses, a great national organizer and law-giver.

The Israelites sought refuge in the steppe and desert section about Mount Sinai. There Moses, with the assistance of his brother, Aaron, organized the various tribes under a theocratic form of government. The account given in the Old Testament tells how Jehovah, their God, talked "face to face" with Moses giving him the Ten Commandments and a mass of other laws designed to order the lives of the people and keep them devoted to the worship of their one God.

Although this god was a spiritual being who could readily accompany his "chosen people" anywhere, the Israelites needed some concrete symbols of his presence among them. Accord-

¹Genesis XXVI, 18-22.

ingly Moses "was instructed" by Jehovah to have the people make a sacred ark, a tabernacle, a sacred table, an altar of incense, a tent of meeting, and an altar of burnt offerings. This equipment was made to be borne upon wooden bars, and was composed largely of materials that could be obtained locally. The skins and hair of livestock were employed as well as acacia wood, copper, and gold which could be secured at Mount Sinai.

Provided with a code of laws and portable equipment for use in the worship of Jehovah, the Israelites resumed pastoral nomadic life in the desert. The stern discipline of the struggle for survival there accustomed them to the hardships and dangers of war. It also taught them to be loyal to relatives and friends and to show relentless hostility toward enemies.

CONQUEST OF PALESTINE

After years of life in desert and steppe, the Israelites invaded and conquered the promised land. Coming from the desert they first overran the section east of the Jordan, and then crossed that river carrying war and destruction into the heart of the land of Canaan. For a time the Israelites obeyed the stern mandate of their god utterly to destroy the Canaanites. All the men, the women, and even the children of conquered areas were slaughtered, while cities and towns were reduced to ruins.² Later this ruthless cruelty relaxed, and some of the conquered people began to be spared, though this practice met with the disapproval of Jehovah who foresaw that Canaanite captives would spread sin and idolatry among the Israelites.³

NATIONAL LIFE IN PALESTINE

It was to be expected that the Israelites would have an eventful national life in Palestine. The nation was too small and weak to dominate all the region between Egypt and the Euphrates. The intense racial and religious intolerance of its people precluded the organization of other races ("gentiles") about them. Therefore the location of their home land in a zone of international conflict insured them a career fraught with disaster and tragedy.

²Deuteronomy VII, 1-5, 16. XX, 16-18. Joshua XI, 18-23.

³Deuteronomy XX, 16-18. Numbers XXXIII, 52-56.

They slowly adopted the civilization of the Canaanites who dwelt about them. Thus they began to live in houses and to dress in gayly colored garments. They learned to write with pen and ink, and many of them adopted sedentary life in town or city or upon the farm. Their tribal theocratic form of government was discarded so they could have a king and the advantages of strong unified rule. During the reign of David new lands were conquered, and under Solomon, David's son, the wealth and power of the nation reached its climax.

Then the disorganizing effects of the varied land asserted themselves, and the agricultural northern part of Palestine separated from the more arid pastoral section about Jerusalem and set up a rival kingdom. Political division now further weakened the Israelites. Assyria conquered the northern kingdom, and carried many of its people into captivity. Later Chaldea, based in the Babylonian plain, destroyed Jerusalem and the period of Babylonian captivity began. When the Persians overthrew Chaldea, they permitted the Israelites to return to Judea and rebuild Jerusalem as a provincial city of their vast empire. Alexander the Great and emperors who succeeded him held Palestine. Later the country fell under Roman rule, and an unsuccessful revolt led to the destruction of Jerusalem and widespread dispersion of the surviving Jews.

CREATIVE RELIGION

Important Israelite contributions to the advance of civilization were virtually limited to the field of religion. Although contributions can be urged in such other fields as literature, history, and philosophy, the work done along these lines was little more than incidental to that in creative religion. From the outset the race was motivated by a dominating religious purpose. The patriarchs worshiped God diligently and earnestly sought to win his favor. Their descendants have always believed that God chose them from among the peoples to represent and serve him in this "sin cursed world." God revealed His will and His law to them and to them alone. One of their chief objectives in life has been to obey this law and so live that they would find favor in His sight. They were the founders of two great monotheistic religions—Christianity and Judaism.

While Israelite traditions fostered religious activity, they tended to prevent growth along other lines. One of the card-

inal "God-given" laws reads, "Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, nor any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth."⁴ This sweeping prohibition frustrated the development of sculpture and painting. Interest in the acquisition of "mansions in the skies" doubtless limited the growth of architectural skill. Certain it is that Israel failed to produce great builders. Solomon found it necessary to import skilled Phoenician workmen to build his famous temple.⁵ Yet it was a small plain building as compared with great contemporary structures erected in Egypt and Babylonia.

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY A RESPONSE TO ENVIRONMENTAL CONDITIONS

Religious progress among the Israelites was at least in part a response to the character of their home land. The pastoral nomadic life was clearly an adjustment to the arid and semi-arid climate of Arabia and Palestine. This life tended to isolate the Israelites from the many social abuses (sins) which have always flourished in cities. Moreover pastoral life in these dry lands insured the people abundant time for sober meditation, while vast desert landscapes and bright starlit heavens continually reminded them of their weakness in comparison with the great silent force which seems to rule the universe. In the desert it is imminently true that man may propose but God will dispose. Therefore it was certain that these people would devote much thought to the conception of God and other religious subjects. Their development and retention of the idea that God is a spiritual abstract being represents a nice adjustment to desert environment, because heavy stone or metal idols are patently incompatible with the life of a migratory people.

Moreover centuries of residence in the region between Egypt and Babylonia could hardly fail to intensify the strong religious instinct of the Israelites. Here disaster followed disaster, and Israelite efforts proved futile when pitted against those vast military forces which repeatedly ravaged the region. In such an overwhelming environment people instinctively seek solace in religion and contemplation of the hereafter. Central

⁴Exodus XX, 4.

⁵I. Kings, V and VI, also VII, 13-46.

location also gave the people contact with the ideas and ideals generated by several great civilizations. Theirs was the opportunity to weigh all this material dispassionately, and adopt that which was higher, truer, and more noble for their own.

CHANGING CHARACTER OF JEHOVAH

In the first books of the Old Testament Yahveh or Jehovah is described as a jealous and cruel tribal god who shows loving kindness for the Israelites when they worship Him and obey His commandments. The Israelites were His chosen people, and He had little or no concern for other nations. He required the Israelites to worship Him and offer up burnt sacrifices, but there was no thought of converting other peoples to the Hebrew religion. When Israelites worshiped other gods, Jehovah became very angry, and in His wrath He repeatedly brought great disaster upon His people.

God is pictured as having an inconsistent man-like character. He gave Israel the commandment: "Thou shalt not kill", but sternly ordered the extermination of the Canaanite nations. All the men, women, and even the children were to be killed or driven from the region lest they corrupt the Israelites.⁶ At an earlier period He is reported to have overwhelmed all the nations of earth with a flood. God repeatedly "hardened Pharaoh's heart" to keep him from allowing the Israelites to leave Egypt, and then sent great plagues upon the Egyptians because their ruler refused to let His people go. When Israel made a golden calf and worshiped it, God determined to destroy the nation. But Moses, reminding God of His promises to the Israelites, not only persuaded Him to spare them, but led Him to repent of the evil he was about to do.⁷

As the centuries passed religious teachers arose among the Israelites. These men were called prophets, and many of them came from the pastoral class of people. They preached heroically against the sin and social injustice which existed in Israel and refined the character of Jehovah. Their teachings emphasize His justice, loving kindness, mercy, and willingness to save. Great nations which devastated Palestine and carried her people into captivity were pictured as mere instruments which God employed to inflict deserved punish-

⁶Deuteronomy XX, 16-18. Numbers XXXIII, 52-56.

⁷Exodus XXXII, 9-14.

ment upon Israel. Some of the prophets declared Jehovah to be the only true God—the God of all nations—but in general they continued to think that He was concerned only with saving the Israelites.

During that period in which all the lands about the Mediterranean were ruled by Rome, Jesus appeared among that remnant of the Israelite people known as the Jews. He described God as the loving heavenly father of mankind—the holy spirit which has compassion for all races and classes of men, and is anxious to save every lost individual. Jesus worked in Palestine and selected His disciples from among the Jews, but He charged His followers to preach His message of salvation to people everywhere. After His death the Christian Jews began to organize a church with headquarters at Jerusalem. For a time they worked only among the Jews, but soon Peter and Paul outraged many of their brethren by missionary activities among the Gentiles. Thus they led a movement which made Christianity an international faith.*

CHANGING CHARACTER OF JEHOVAH A RESPONSE TO PALESTINIAN ENVIRONMENT

Jehovah was essentially a war god when the Israelites entered Palestine. The people looked to Him for strength and courage in battle, and expected Him to aid in the defeat and destruction of the enemy. Now a war god can command the devotion of a people only so long as they are reasonably successful with their wars. But the Israelites, seated in Palestine, necessarily came into conflict with Egypt and the mighty nations of the Tigris-Euphrates plain, and in such wars the assistance of Jehovah proved to have little value. Viewing the military record, dispassionate Israelites could hardly escape the conviction that after all Jehovah was a rather weak war god. The victories of other nations suggested that their gods were more powerful in this respect. Therefore, if the Israelites were to be kept loyal to Jehovah, it was necessary that they think of Him as something other than a war god. To accomplish these results the great "prophets" proclaimed Jehovah a just, merciful, and loving god. The crushed and humiliated Israelites were ready to receive their message, and thus the popular conception of Jehovah was altered.

*Acts X, XI, XIII, XIV, and XV.

Also Jehovah was long considered the national god of the Israelites and of them alone. His laws narrowly sought to shut them off from intimate contact with other races. The people diligently sought to maintain their racial and cultural purity, but residence in Palestine—a transit and contact land—doomed the effort to failure. Belief that the Jews were the chosen people of God, and that all other races (Gentiles) were beneath His recognition could not endure unchallenged there. This fact is mirrored in the message of some of the prophets, and at length found full expression in the Christian movement.

RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS AS ADJUSTMENTS TO ENVIRONMENTAL CONDITIONS

Since Christianity developed among the Israelites, we might expect that many of its concepts would be derived from the ancient Oriental environment of that people. Thus heaven is represented as being a walled city with gates for the admission of newcomers. Presumably this conception arises from the fact that in ancient Palestine all cities had walls. Any center which could not close its gates against marauding peoples and enemy armies would have been destroyed in that strife-torn land. Hell is pictured as a place of great heat and aridity. This conception seems to have been derived from the deserts of Arabia and Africa. Hell is that part of the "next world" which people wish to escape, and the Israelites were sufficiently familiar with the intolerable heat and thirst which beset people in desert wastes to make them fear such an environment. In Revelations God is described as the King of Kings, a sort of glorified Oriental monarch. He sits resplendent upon a great throne in heaven. There is a golden altar before Him, and elders and angels are gathered about. With harp and song they continually worship God and praise His holy name. Christians often refer to Jesus as a lamb that was slain and as a good shepherd who anxiously cares for His sheep. All this religious imagery seems to be definitely related to the environment of ancient Palestine.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT TO INDUSTRIAL AND POLITICAL DEMOCRACY¹

EDWIN A. ELLIOTT

National Labor Relations Board, Sixteenth Region

To the German workers in the thirteen years prior to the Nazi Revolution, the trade union structure, together with the social legislation accomplished by the labor unions, became a monument to democratic freedom. Under the regime of the German Republic social legislation brought to the German workers security through insurance against old age, unemployment, illness, and accidents. The Republic developed along with its political democracy an economic democracy. In the Reich Economic Council, labor was given equal membership and voice along with capital. Shop councils were established in factories, and trade unions were recognized as collective bargaining agencies for the purposes of determining wages, hours, and other conditions of employment, bargaining equally with employers' associations. In the boards of directors of the joint stock companies, employee representatives sat alongside the management.

German trade unions under the Republic were free institutions. In 1930 their membership totaled 5,620,000 as compared to 2,430,000 in 1914 and none in 1939. They chose their own political parties and had their own press through which they could express their social and political viewpoints. They offered lectures, theatrical performances, and established labor banks, insurance companies, bakeries, and other factories which sold their products through cooperative stores.

National Socialism destroyed all this, and in place of the free institutions of trade unions, the worker has forced upon him the Labor Front, which is the negation of freedom. Membership in the Labor Front was not recruited; instead, its enrollment was the result of pressure of the dictatorial Nazi. The worker had no choice—to refuse to join was to be refused a job. While the Labor Front through its program of "Strength Through Joy" gives the worker travel, vacations, recreation, sports, and drama of the Nazi pattern, labor's self-government is destroyed and its leadership is selected by the party to which it is responsible.

¹An address delivered before the Southwestern Social Science Association, Dallas, Texas, April 7, 1939.

It is true that unemployment has been abolished, but labor is working under conscription. Industry is likewise conscripted. Workers are no longer free to move from job to job or plant to plant; strikes are forbidden; prices are fixed; wages are rigid. The worker is forbidden to ask for a wage increase, and the employer is forbidden to offer it. Collective bargaining has been replaced by decree. In short, the German worker has security but at the price of liberty. Democracy has given way to dictatorship.² This is a part of the current evolution in Germany.

We shift the scene to the United States and observe here an evolution of another sort. The economic development in the United States has been characterized by a series of frontiers. The first, the *frontier of land*—abundant, cheap, and often free. The second, the *frontier of natural resources*—coal, iron, zinc, silver, gold, oil, copper, etc., all of these and others in greater measure than the world had then known. The third, the *frontier of industry*—steel, steam railway, waterway shipping, electric power, automobiles, large scale manufacture of necessities, etc. These frontiers, each in their turn and sometimes simultaneously, provided escape from depressions, investment opportunities for capital, and employment for labor. They did more than that; they created a philosophy which sufficiently permeated society to characterize an era.

This philosophy is symbolized in the stories by Horatio Alger. We were told of Bill the bootblack, who became William, the great shoe manufacturer; or of Andy the immigrant floor sweep in the steel mill, who became Andrew Carnegie, the steel magnate and the great philanthropist. Everyone could become president, more surely the President of the United States; but if by some mishap this goal could not be reached, the American boy could become president of something. It was a philosophy which led men to play for *big prizes* rather than for security. There was no labor consciousness; few admitted labor was to be their lot in life.

The consequence of this "Big Prize Philosophy," of life and the economic order which it established, is insecurity for millions of our people—71 per cent of the families having annual incomes insufficient to sustain a comfortable standard

²Fieler, Arthur, "Labor Under Fascism," *The Survey Graphic*, February, 1939.

of living. Maldistribution may be observed along the panorama of any modern highway. Here are the Lincoln, the "T" Model, and some of the hundreds of thousands who tread with weary feet, seeking men's primary right and heritage—the right to work—without finding it.

When the few who understood that labor was to be their lot in life sought to organize in order to better their conditions, they met with complacency in their own ranks. The employer dealt quickly with any attempt at organization, even to the point of murdering labor leaders. The executive branch of the government willingly aided these resistant employers, one of its first participations in employer-employee relations being the use of federal troops as strike-bearers.

Until 1842 in this country unions were looked upon by the courts as conspiracies which were illegal, regardless of their purposes and their methods. Though a Massachusetts court declared in 1842 that combinations in restraint of trade were not in the abstract unlawful, yet within the last thirty years courts in their decisions have for all practical purposes, made ineffective the efforts of unions to employ their economic strength. After 1901 the National Association of Manufacturers assumed the role of the protector for employers and became the leader of organized anti-unionism. Its work was later augmented by the United States Chamber of Commerce, the American Bankers Association, the National Metal Trades Association, and by some of the members of the American Bar Association. As the New Deal came with its program dedicated to human rights, organized anti-unionism increased in vigor and became more subtle, and so continues at this moment.

Anti-unionism takes form as follows:³

1. Propaganda—Subsidized speakers, pamphlets and press releases have spread the word that union leaders are "outside agitators," draw enormous salaries, charge exorbitant dues; that unions are un-American, communistic, law-breaking, subversive, irresponsible, and violent;
2. Economic force—Discrimination, discharge, yellow dog contract, blacklist, lockouts, and threats to move plants,
3. Boring from within—Company welfare work, espionage, company unions, and so-called "independent" unions, which we find

³Brooks, Robert R. R., *Unions of Their Own Choosing*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1939, pp. 48-49.

in many instances to be in no way independent as their names imply; and finally,

4. Direct employer-anti-union violence—Beating, kidnapping and murdering unionists, inciting citizens' committees to become vigilantes, and back to work movements.

The utter ruthlessness with which the Ford Company fought the organization of its employees into a bona fide labor organization is the epitome of anti-unionism. Based on testimony offered at a public hearing before the National Labor Relations Board in Detroit, July 6 to July 20, 1937, the Board's Decision states that the Company:

"... has made its antagonism to labor organizations so evident that no employee whose economic life is at its mercy can fail to comprehend it. The full significance of this antagonism has been brought home to its employees through constant hostility of foremen and supervisory officials, through the systematic discharge of union advocates, through the employment by the respondent of hired thugs to terrorize and beat union members and sympathizers. . .

"The chief weapon of the respondent in this fight to prevent self-organization among its employees has been the Ford Service Department. This Department played the principal role in the savage beatings of May 26, and in the other assault upon union members which have been described above. The record leaves no doubt that the Service Department has been vested with the responsibility of maintaining surveillance over Ford employees, not only during their work but even when they are outside the plant, and of crushing at its inception, by force if necessary, any sign of union activity. Thus within the respondent's vast River Rouge plant at Dearborn the freedom of self-organization guaranteed by the National Labor Relations Act has been replaced by a rule of terror and repression."

These actions and others like them on the part of employers were not good for labor or for business—nor were they good for democracy.

That these and other interferences with human rights might be stopped, that labor might be guaranteed the right to self-organization, that it might bargain on a basis of equality with its employer, and that industrial peace might be safeguarded, the Congress of the United States enacted, in July, 1935, the National Labor Relations Act, and created a National Labor Relations Board of three members to administer the

Act.⁴ While it is true that for many years workers have had the theoretical "right" to organize and bargain collectively, it was in 1935, for the first time in our history, that a Federal agency was created solely to protect this long recognized abstract right. In much the same way the government sought to protect other groups, such as shippers and passengers, merchants and manufacturers, consumers, farmers, bank depositors, and home owners.

The freedom of employees to self-organization is a freedom recognized by reasonable men, but before it became recognized by law it had to be fought for, and not until the Supreme Court spoke in April, 1937, did some concede to the principle, and even now some employers seek to evade it, and reactionary elements the country over oppose it.

The Supreme Court said,

"Employees have as clear a right to organize and select their representatives for lawful purposes as the respondent has to organize its business and select its own officers and agents. Discrimination and coercion to prevent the free exercise of the right of employees to self-organization and representation is a proper subject for condemnation by competent legislative authority."

The Court said further that,

"Union was essential to give laborers opportunity to deal on an equality with their employers."

The right of workers to organize and join labor unions and to choose representatives for collective bargaining or other purposes is clearly set forth in Section 7 of the National Labor Relations Act as follows:

"Employees shall have the right to self-organization, to form, join, or assist labor organizations, to bargain collectively through

⁴The Act defines a series of unfair labor practices, for an employer—

(1) To interfere with, restrain, or coerce employees in the exercise of their right to self-organization.

(2) To dominate or interfere with the formation of any labor organization or to contribute financial or other support to it.

(3) To encourage or discourage membership in any organization by "discrimination in regard to hire or tenure of employment or any term or condition of employment."

(4) To discharge or otherwise discriminate against an employee because he had filed charges or given testimony under the Act.

(5) To refuse to bargain collectively with the authorized representatives of their employees.

representatives of their own choosing, and to engage in concerted activities, for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection."

The Act further holds that interference by the employer with the exercise of this right on the part of the worker or workers is an unfair labor practice. To protect workers in the exercise of this right is the function of the Board.

Collective bargaining is essential to the well-being of employees. It is essential to industrial peace under decent conditions. It is essential to self-respect of our industrial system. But collective bargaining cannot exist in the face of employer coercion of the individual employees in their choice of bargaining agents; it cannot exist if these practices forbidden by the Act are used by the employer.⁵

The fact that 55 per cent of all cases, affecting 1,297,091 workers, have been settled equitably and in compliance with the law, by agreement between the parties, is a compliment to the agents of the Board, and specifically a compliment to the good sense of representatives of industry who have manifested a desire to be law-abiding and to give workers not only their inherent, but their lawful and just right to enjoy the benefits of self-organization. A growing number of intelligent employers are complying with the Act and making formal procedure by the Board increasingly unnecessary. These employers realize that the Act does not take away the prerogatives of management—it only denies to employers their once questionable right to interfere with the right of labor to self-organization.⁶

Those who oppose the National Labor Relations Act say it is a change which threatens democracy, but the threat to democracy does not lie in change but in the failure of institutions to adjust themselves to changes which have already taken place. With millions unemployed, poorly housed, and facing old age without security, certainly our democracy is being undermined. When people ask for bread, we shall, if we wish to preserve our democracy, give them something more than a slogan. They must have work, security, and must be

⁵Fahy, Charles, General Counsel, National Labor Relations Board, in an address before the National Association of Manufacturers, Dec. 9, 1937.

⁶Elliott, Edwin A., "Some Aspects of the Work of the National Labor Relations Board," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, December, 1938, pp. 312-318.

permitted to live in a state where industrial democracy is real and where political democracy is not a farce.

The National Labor Relations Act, by the intent of Congress, is concerned with the development, the maintenance, and the progress of industrial democracy. Its objective is to increase the democratic control by workers and management, through collective bargaining, over industrial life.

Senator Wagner, the author of the National Labor Relations Act, in a statement in the *New York Times* on May 9, 1937, carries this thought further when he said,⁷

"The struggle for a voice in industry through the processes of collective bargaining is at the heart of the struggle for the preservation of political as well as economic democracy in America. Let men become the servile pawns of their masters in the factories of the land and there will be destroyed the bone and sinew of resistance to political dictatorship.

"*Fascism begins in industry, not in government.* The seeds of communism are sown in industry, not in government. But let men know the dignity of freedom and self-expression in their daily lives, and they will never bow to tyranny in any quarter of their national life."

Workers, under the protection of the National Labor Relations Act, learn the democratic process. They vote their will in selecting their representatives; they raise their voices in public discussion; they participate with equality in conferences where the wages they receive, the hours they work, and the conditions under which they labor are determined. Schooled in this democratic process, the worker will not easily fall the victim of the Fascist demagogue. If the establishment of the National Labor Relations Act, with its encouragement to unionism, is, as is often charged, a further encroachment of federal power, that power will be subjected to democratic control and the charge falls of its own weight, because the encouragement of unionism enhances the means of democratic control over the federal government.⁸

The National Labor Relations Act has opened the door to a new democratic process. Only the failure of the 8,000,000

⁷This statement was quoted by the Senator in his testimony in hearing held before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, National Labor Relations Act and Proposed Amendments, Vol. 1, pp. 6-7 of Record of Proceedings.

⁸See Brooks, Robert R. R., op. cit., Chapter IX, for an interesting discussion of the National Labor Relations Board and Democracy.

trade and industrial unionists in the United States to effect unity can close this door and open another through which a reactionary government may enter in 1940. In the battle between industrial and political autocracy on the one hand, and industrial and political democracy on the other, the National Labor Relations Board, which administers the Act, finds itself the "happy warrior" in the vanguard of democracy.

THE PATHOLOGY OF HYPER-NATIONALISM¹

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"I love Liberty; perhaps I love it more than life itself." So could still write a century ago the "father of Italian nationalism," Joseph Mazzini, even from the loneliness of never-ending exile in a strange land.² Why is it that such words, so reminiscent of the early American nation-builders, are unthinkable as coming out of the mouth of a 20th-century nationalist? Why should there be something almost incongruous about associating Freedom, Democracy, Brotherhood of Mankind as traditionally conceived among western peoples with fascist and other varieties of present-day patriotism, and yet so natural about linking them with 19th century patriotism? Why, on the contrary, should there be an understandable identification of the typical ultra-nationalist of our day with the thundering of a Mussolini that "Liberty is today no longer the chaste and austere virgin for whom the generations of the first half of the last century fought and died. . . Fascism has already stepped over, and if it be necessary, it will tranquilly and again step over the more or less decayed corpse of the Goddess of Liberty"?³

Because, we must answer, contemporary nationalism has set new tasks for itself and for these new watchwords seem to be necessary. The older nationalism, an instrumentality primarily of the rising Middle Class, strove for either the breakdown of age-long aristocratic-landlord domination, or internal political and economic unity, or national independence, or all three together; and for these objectives democracy and civil liberties were useful tools, although not infrequently becoming ends in themselves. Today, on the other hand, in many places of the world nationalism has become synonymous with defense of property and stabilization of class relationships in the internal realm, and expansion and conquest externally; and for this purpose, again to quote Il Duce, "There are other

¹Paper read before the Southwestern Sociological Society, Dallas, April 7, 1939.

²Joseph Mazzini, *Introduction to The Duties of Man and Other Essays* (Everyman's ed.), 1907.

³Benito Mussolini: *Forza e Censeno*, in *Gerarchia*, 3-23, 1923, 801-03. Reprinted in H. W. Schneider, *Making the Fascist State*, Appendix, Part V, 342.

words that exercise a far greater fascination, and these words are: order, hierarchy, discipline."⁴

But it would be both ungrateful and mistaken to forget the great services of nationalism in the past, and to confuse it with its present-day descendant. The earlier nationalism was often unduly sentimental, extravagant, Quixotic, but it was bathed in a quality of idealism that still commands the high respect of the Occidental world. One refrain was ever constant: "Liberty, Brotherhood, Unity, Independence, Civilization." Arising in a Europe of crystallized feudalism, where each country was a little world of disunity and inefficiency, a babel of tongues, a confusion of edicts, tariffs and currencies, with a social system resting on the principle of "the greatest good to the least number," and a governmental order of Divine Right monarchs, capricious, vain and woefully inept, nationalism became a species of religion because men needed salvation. It grew into a sea of sentiment on which humanity launched its dream ships and set sail for a more just social order.

Eventually the common man rose to "judge the world, after the silence of centuries," and in the upsurge of civilization that followed nationalism played a distinguished role. It destroyed feudalism and enabled Europe to begin anew the process of reconsolidation. It promoted the gospel of democracy, secularism and popular enlightenment. It brought to people everywhere the aspiration for closer political and cultural unity, or independence, or autonomy. It made single nations out of the Germans and the Italians. It helped the French destroy the ancient regime. It freed the Rumanians, Serbs, Bulgars and Greeks from the irksome rule of the Ottomans.

With respect to its own household this earlier nationalism was suffused with sentiments of warm passion for the *Patria*, sturdy pride in its achievements, and glad readiness to defend it against all aggressors. In its relations with other people it was characterized in the main by restraint, understanding and good-will. It asked only that the neighbor nations should not stand in the way of the happiness and independence of its group and what it considered their legitimate national claims. These aims satisfied or, at least, not obstructed, it sincerely rejoiced in the aspirations for unity, independence and politi-

⁴Mussolini, *supra*, 342.

cal democracy of the sister states. In fact, it often had a crusading ardor which made—to cite one example—the French revolutionists seek to emancipate forcibly their German, Belgian, Italian, Spanish and Austrian neighbors.

Lazare Carnot, the Jacobin "organizer of victory," while urging the French armies on to success, cautioned them against violating the "sacred rights" of other peoples. "Every nation," he declared, "has the right to live by itself if it pleases or unite with others, if they wish, for the common good. We Frenchmen recognize no sovereigns but the peoples themselves; our system is not at all one of domination, but one of fraternity."⁸

Later generations of English, French and other "free born" men welcomed, even on occasion assisted, the struggle of the Garibaldi Italians, the Kossuth Hungarians, the pre-1871 Germans, the oppressed Rumanians, Poles, Serbs and other Slavs to gain nationhood or self-government.

II

Today, we must acknowledge, these older, ennobling characteristics of nationalism are rapidly disappearing, especially in the Europe that gave it birth. Nationalism is ceasing to be the carrier of liberty, brotherhood, democracy; and even self-determination is being frequently given a casuistic interpretation so as to exclude weaker nationalities. A new variety of nationalism is beginning to displace the old, a hyper-strain that is no longer content that Germans or Italians or Hungarians should resemble one another in a rough sort of way, ideologically, linguistically, culturally. No! They must be *identical*; they must speak, act, yes, *look* alike; they must, above all, have precisely the same views on government, economics, war, race, national neighbors, and the nation's "manifest destiny." One extreme now threatens to lead to another; and the boa-constrictor of conformity becomes more suffocating with each passing day.

Why this metamorphosis of nationalism as a symphony of love to a cacophony of hate? For the answer one must go back—go back even beyond 1914, because these latter-day manifestations of nationalism antedate even the World War. For decades now the extreme nationalists in every European

⁸"Rapport au Comité diplomatique du 13 Février, 1793," in *Correspondance generale de Carnot*, ed. Etienne Charavay (1892), Vol. I, 363. Quoted by C. H. J. Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism*, 1926, 45.

country—in republican France no less than Hohenzollern Germany, in Garibaldi Italy no less than autocratic Russia and Austria—were at the same time the persons least liberal, least mindful of the common man, least forward-looking. This is no mere coincidence, any more than it is mere chance that the triple-headed plants of fascist dictatorship, militarism and reactionism should be rising everywhere in the soil of ultra-nationalism. It was discovered that nationalism could be turned to useful account by the very elements against whom it was originally directed, the lineal descendants of the landed aristocracy, army officers and anti-libertarians of the preceding generations. They observed, among other things, that exaggerated ethno-centrism possesses useful soporific properties, that when properly stupefied by the fumes, the masses can apparently be made to follow docilely behind any leadership, banner or program. And so in their hands nationalism became a boomerang, injuring the social groups that it originally served, and destroying much of what it had helped to build up in the years gone by.

Let us look more closely at the causes and manner of this significant transformation: Nationalism, particularly in Europe, was the work primarily of the Middle Class, or Bourgeoisie, leading the common people of the towns. More than all other social elements, the middlemen desired unity of the nation and emancipation from the irresponsibility and abuses of king and nobility; more than all others they needed relief from the confusion of laws, decrees, monies, tolls, imposts, exactions and other relics of feudalism; more than all others they wanted a broader, unhampered home market obtainable only by demolishing internal barriers of a thousand different kinds. It is no accident that in both Germany and Italy customs unions preceeded political unions. Hence the liberalism of the middle class, their democracy, their demand for and gradual establishment of civil liberties, universal suffrage, constitutions, free public schooling and all the other things which men in the next generation were to imagine were inalienable, God-given rights.

But the middle class and their spokesmen among the intellectuals were powerless by themselves alone against the intrenched interests of the day. They needed the support of the masses, and this, together with the fact that their own grievances and wishes could be easily identified with those of the common people, made them the supporters of the grow-

ing creed of humanitarianism. Hence nationalism became not only the cult and instrument of the Middle Class by which to obtain the things closest to their hearts, but it became equally the gospel and agency of the common people for the same general ends.

There were, to be sure, occasions when nationalism had the endorsement of the entire body politic, when even the aristocracy and conservatives of the day deigned to join hands with the rabble; and that was when nationalism was used as a force to gain independence from alien rule. One calls to mind in this connection the emancipation struggle of the Italians and Hungarians against Austria, the Poles against Russia, the Rumanians against Turkey, in all of which aristocratic names figure prominently. But on the whole the interests of the nobility remained confined to the strictly emancipatory aspect of nationalism; democracy, liberalism, humanitarianism continue to leave them cold. They were too weak to oppose the onward sweep of the new forces, so that by 1871 not only was independence, or at least autonomy, the possession of most of the Europeans, but also greater unity, representative government, civil liberties, creed of individualism, free schooling, and all the other achievements which we usually hail as the crowning glory of the 19th century.

But toward the end of the century a gradual change becomes noticeable in the character of European nationalism. The new generation of middlemen, especially those toward the top, largely satisfied with the status won for them by their fathers, become the inevitable conservatives. Being now in the saddle of power, or at least riding tandem with the older prestige-groups, their slogan tends to become the familiar: "Halt! Thus far and no farther will we go in the direction of liberalism and concessions to the common man." Not that they could, or even would, stop all the onward tendencies, but in so far as it lay within their power they begin to exercise a growing curb on so-called radicalism in political and economic spheres, and to develop an unmistakable interest in stabilizing the gains already won for themselves.

The reasons are quite plain: the system, economic, political, even social, was tending to become their own. The European world was becoming a bee-hive of factories, shops, stores and service enterprises, instead of landed estates and handicrafts. Hence many of the middle class now began to share the older fears regarding class and property status of

the nobility, who still survived everywhere, though reduced in numbers and weakened in influence. In this way a gradual coalition developed between the new and the old wealth groups: a fusion of conservatives of two separate social ancestries banded together to resist important departures in government and economics. And since loyalty to these are bound up inextricably with loyalty to other institutions, or, conversely, weakening of attachments to traditional ideas of family, church and country lead to weakening of attachments to existing property relations and government, the middlemen as a class tended to join with the remnants of the old feudality in defending the newly established order all along the line—in other words, made patriotism synonymous with devotion to the industrial-fuedalistic amalgam known as modern European civilization.

But just as political independence from the stranger was a common *casus belli* for all classes before 1871—one in which estate owner could and did fight shoulder to shoulder with middleman and worker—so now *conquest* from the alien becomes a platform upon which all classes could stand and join hands, at least much more easily than upon domestic issues. The aristocracy, because war and aggression had always appealed to them, and had given them originally and was still the best way of securing their status and leadership. The upper middlemen, because restricted domestic opportunities made foreign markets, raw materials and investment possibilities extremely tempting; and because many of them began to share the military-predatory viewpoint of their allies of gentler blood, partly through having lost much of the idealism of their predecessors, and partly through intermarriage and rubbing shoulders with their "betters." Witness in this connection Benjamin Disraeli, Joseph Chamberlain and the whole Birmingham-imperialistic school in England, and their analogues in Germany, Italy, France and Russia in the last quarter of the 19th century.

The small business men, the farmers and the workers were the least interested in and most reluctant to embrace a program of imperialism but had always deferred to their social superiors and were easily persuaded.

All this—conquest, militarism and, by the logic of development, reactionism in political life—could still be embraced under the head of nationalism, although it was already a far

cry from the ideals and slogans that had animated the older generations of patriots.⁶

III

Nevertheless, despite their plasticity, the common people did not altogether lose sight of their own best interests or the lessons of history. Hence when the smoke of the world war had vanished, exposing a world in ruins, they realized that they had been too trusting of this older leadership, and sought to return to the earlier spirit of nationalism, to the nationalism of modest ambitions and fair-dealing on the international stage, and of liberalism and individualism at home. This was not easy; and in countries like Germany and Italy such hopes were dashed to the ground by a combination of unmanageable circumstances and ignoble motivations, by economic crises, democracy of multiple parties, fractions and "splinter-groups" (Germany at one time had thirty-two), and "lost generations" led by demagogues, profoundly disillusioned, breathing hatred and revenge against all and sundry post-war elements, institutions and innovations that they could blame for their own inadequacies and for the distressing world about them.

And today, mistaking effect for cause, and blaming post-war liberalism, socialism and pacifism for their frustrated hopes and illusions—a situation largely brought about by their own overweening pride and unquenchable ambitions for rule and conquest—the same old social elements are back in the saddle: the spiritual, where not the actual lineal, offspring of the estate owners, army officers, calculating middle-class materialists and other 19th century status-group opponents of a democratic, humanitarian nationalism. Having learnt nothing from the holocaust of 1914-1918, for which they must share the largest responsibility, they are again seeking to convert nationalism, this tremendous force of potential social usefulness, into a Juggernaut of destruction, to

⁶C. H. J. Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism*, 1926; and *Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism*, 1931; Cambridge Modern History, *Growth of Nationalities*, Vol. XI, 1909. P. T. Moon, *Imperialism and World Politics*, 1926, 1-67, 457-567. R. L. Buell, *International Relations*, 1925, 305-324. Frederick L. Schuman, *International Politics*, 1933, 66-105. H. E. Barnes, *The History of Western Civilization*, 1935, II, 453-475; William L. Langer, *Diplomacy of Imperialism*, 1935.

misuse and degrade it, and turn it, like the fire of Prometheus, against the very mankind it was created to serve.

One dreads to contemplate the world that the new nationalism is producing: a world of illusions, of mysteries of *Blut und Boden*, of spiritual emptiness, and of maddening excitement. Whatever the ultimate consequences—and good sometimes flows from strange wellsprings in history—the immediate outcome for mankind can only be freighted with disaster, as is abundantly clear from the tragic evidence already piled up everywhere, and from a glance at the erroneous conceptions, and at the actions based on these misconceptions, of nationalism in the areas where inflated nationalism is at its present peak of development.

First, nationalism, a basically artificial sentiment, quite new to humanity, is tending to be "overloaded" by its fevered apostles. It is asked to reconcile all internal political, economic and class differences and hatreds. It is expected to serve as a catchbasin and panacea for all social ills. Illusions are thus being fostered regarding its healing and hedonistic properties. Men assume that the nation has been swept clean of all internal strife because the "dust" has been swept into the "corners." But the hiding or forcible suppression of the differences does not banish them; it merely postpones the day of reckoning. The pressure of social dissension instead of lowering is more likely to rise because the usual valves of discussion and compromise have been shut off, making an explosion highly probable.

Secondly, by whipping up the sense of injury while at the same time whetting the appetite of the people for conquest and expansion, and by creating an exaggerated idea of the nation's moral and material resources for waging successful war, hyper-nationalism is paving the way for the inevitable day of disillusionment, with its concomitants of mass destitution, bitterness and demoralization. Regardless of initial successes, the end result is bound to be failure because ultra-nationalism, partly through the phenomenon of imitation, partly through the instinct of self-preservation, engenders similar manifestations of megalomania in other countries, and so renders alliances untenable and victories abortive. The consequences can only be reciprocal cancellation of one another's victories; the axis of alliance bends eventually into a coil of mutual strangulation.

Thirdly, exaggerated nationalism because of its inseparable connection with oligarchy, contempt for the individual and "Spartanism," is emptying mankind's spiritual treasury and throwing overboard ethical, social, political and religious values painfully accumulated by thousands of years of blundering, experimentation, and sacrifices of the whole race, and constituting, despite admitted defects, the most legitimate claim to progress that the race has made.

Furthermore, through its insistence upon absolute conformity and uniformity it is tending to sacrifice distinctive personality and to drive out or suppress some of its most creative spirits. Genius, a rare, delicate plant at best, cannot thrive in the ordinary clay-beds of totalitarian gardening. The pleasing irregularity of the liberal cultural landscape is giving way to a vast, monotonous tundra of educational *Gleichschaltung*.

Fourthly, inflated nationalism is leading, along with the spiritual destitution, to the progressive material impoverishment of people everywhere, its own included. Externally, the transforming of economics into a handmaiden of politics and militarism is leading to reciprocal trade-crippling devices which is working galling hardships on all. Internally, because military needs are given first consideration, a lengthening train of calamitous developments has been set in motion, with the result that food, clothing and shelter, prime requisites of life, have become less, worse, and more uncertain.⁷

IV

At this point one may well ask: But what is it all leading to? Will hyper-nationalism destroy civilization? The answer appears to be that it may come pretty close to it but that, paradoxically, the final results will prove beneficial.

We may argue with some show of rightness that hyper-nationalism by its very destructiveness, which is of course a negative principle of social action, may accomplish some good ultimately. The present darkness may become more opaque, the current barbarism may grow worse, but eventually recovery will probably set in, because the alternative is mutual

⁷Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 1933 ed. Frederick L. Schuman, *The Nazi Dictatorship*, 1935; Konrad Heiden, *A History of National Socialism*, 1935. H. W. Schneider, *Making the Fascist State*, 1928. H. Finer, *Mussolini's Italy*, 1935. Harold J. Laski, *Liberty in the Modern State*, 1933.

extinction, and even the most benighted will at last perceive that things cannot go on that way.

"Bitter necessity" is the key to much of history, possibly the greater part. Only through this compulsion did the sanguinary religious wars of the past finally reach an end in Europe. Religious peace and tolerance arrived first and are still probably most dependable in those areas where the disintegrating microbes of Protestantism had done their most efficient work—the British Isles, Northern and Central Europe—creating so great a diversity of sects and creeds that none had much more than a bare majority. To have continued the fratricidal warfare would have meant individual losses and national weakening to the point of utter destruction, hence even the most bigoted and obtuse finally glimpsed the light.

The United States is another example of the same truth. Is the ability to hold down the lid of its Pandora Box of potentially conflicting nationalism, racialisms and religionisms, due to the naturally superior good sense or benevolence of Americans? Hardly.

Then, too, historical objectivity compels the reluctant admission that force and regimentation have often played a constructive role in the progress of the race. To be sure not always; nevertheless some of mankind's most imposing and useful achievements were the consequence. The *Pax Romana* gave Europe a high-grade civilization and a measure of peace and stability which future generations have almost unanimously endorsed as representing a forward step in the march of the race; and was it not the creation of force and maintained by force against the centrifugal tendencies ever operating in so vast and polyglot a structure?

And the same is true for the *Pax Britannica*. Would we want to see the British Empire disintegrated, this creation of wars, coercion and Machiavellian diplomacy? Or the French Empire? Or the United States? And surely militarism, bloodshed and repression played a not inconsiderable part in their establishment.

A similar line of justification may also be used with respect to the values, ideals, sentiments, and even "mysteries" propagated by the current brand of nationalism. Is pan-nationalism any more unnatural than nationalism? Or *amour de la race* than *amour de la patrie*? Or the idea that Flemings, German Swiss, Dutch, Austrians, Sudetens, Holsteiners or Transylvanian Saxons should belong to one body politic any

more artificial than the already achieved idea that Bavarians, Wuerttembergers, Prussians and Rhinelanders belong together? What is there "natural" about Christian brotherhood or Protestantism or Mohammedanism or Democracy or Socialism; and yet men of the most diverse backgrounds, interests and racial stocks have fought side by side and have been brought into a species of unity under these banners.

No, the main objection to the hyper-nationalism of our day is not its pan-racialism or Caesarism or imperialism, since good fruit may eventually come even from this unpromising soil, but to, first, the essential anachronism of its methods and, second, its lack of benevolence.

The use of force in international dealings may still have its place and may be productive of satisfactory results in the long run, nevertheless it is too uncertain and too old-fashioned an instrument to use in this day and time. The majority of mankind is still predominantly actuated by the heritage of 19th century thought and idealism, which insists upon rational persuasion, voluntary cooperation and peaceful adjustments, not upon imposed solutions. Today the victorious apostles of pan-nationalism and Caesarism are being received by millions of people with either drummed up enthusiasm or with coldness, apprehension or silent hate. Such a unity, based upon force and dislike, is hard to visualize as permanent or as an early forerunner of a Pan-Europa or a Pan-Asia.

Equally dubious as building material for an enduring structure of civilization are the ingredients of brutality, intolerance and self-serving that the leaders of hyper-nationalism are offering as their contribution. Having established these as principles by which they rule their own people, what can the rest of the world expect? At the head of these quarrelsome, trouble-making but essentially sickly nations of today stand individuals and social elements that do not represent, or even care to represent, the interests of their own people—professional war-lovers, seekers of lost class honors and status, coldly scheming materialists and plain demagogues. We might overlook their repudiating of the majority principle in shaping policies; we cannot easily overlook the fact that their policies repudiate the principle of *Salus Populi Suprema Lex*, that the welfare of the people is the supreme law.

Unity and peace will undoubtedly come to Europe and to the world through the instrumentality of some great Idea or system of ideas rooted in the genuine needs of the common

people, just as partial unity came in the past through the older nationalism, through democracy, Christianity, trade unionism and other succoring programs and visions, but hardly through the current brand of nationalism, because its whole career thus far has been a very dubious one. Neither its leaders nor apostles, neither its record nor achievements nor methods invest it with beauty or cause it to give off a fragrance that will draw harrassed humanity around it like starving bees around the flowers of spring. On the contrary: it has more the odor of decay and death than of fresh-bloom and life for the race.

NOTES FROM THE SOUTHWEST

The Executive Council of the *Association* met in the Baker Hotel, Dallas, November 4, 1939. Plans were made for the spring meeting.

Of interest in connection with the situation described by Professor John H. Frederick in this number of the *Quarterly* is the recent obtaining of an injunction by the railroads of Texas by which the Railroad Commission is enjoined from putting into effect an order removing the differentials on freight rates within the State of Texas.

ARKANSAS

University of Arkansas—President John C. Futrall was fatally injured in an automobile accident in September. James William Fulbright, formerly lecturer in law, has been appointed president.

Dr. Dorsey Jones has been promoted to a full professorship and Dr. Clarence Askew to an assistant professorship in the History Department.

John G. McNeeley, formerly instructor in Rural Economics and Sociology, has been appointed an Associate Agricultural Economist in the Division of Land Economics, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, with headquarters at Little Rock.

The Department of Rural Economics and Sociology has installed a set of I. B. M. machines for the sorting and tabulating of data.

M. W. Slusher, Junior Economist, Division of Farm Management and Costs, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, is now stationed here on a cooperative study between the Bureau and the Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station.

OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College—Dr. Theodore G. Standing, of the Department of Sociology and Rural Life will be on leave of absence from November until July 1, 1940, and will be engaged in research work with the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare of the United States Department of Agriculture, B. A. E. He will be stationed at Amarillo, Texas, at the present.

Professor W. H. Sewell, of this department received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Minnesota during the past summer.

Dr. Wiley D. Rich, Professor of Accounting at Oklahoma A. and M. College from 1937 through 1939, has resigned his position here to accept a similar one at Baylor University.

Dr. Peter Nelson, who since 1936 has been Acting Head of the Department of Agricultural Economics, was made head of that department at the November, 1939, meeting of the State Board of Agriculture.

Mr. Robert T. McMillan is continuing his graduate work at Louisiana State University and expects to return here July 1, 1940.

Mr. John H. McClure went to Louisiana State University this fall to begin work towards the Doctor's degree.

Professor Morris M. Blair of the Department of Economics received the Doctor's degree during the past summer from the University of California.

Mr. Fred Tidwell, Assistant Professor of Commercial Education, is doing graduate work the current year at the University of California.

University of Oklahoma—New appointments: Claude A. Campbell, assistant professor of economics; Philip C. Albertson, assistant professor of economics; V. L. Shelton, instructor in accounting; Gilbert Harold, changed from associate professor of economics to associate professor of finance.

Resignations: A. E. Chandler, associate professor of economics and statistics; B. F. Brooks, assistant professor of economics; Lewis N. Bealer, assistant professor of history; Frederic Ermarth, assistant professor of government.

Retired: William A. Schaper, professor of finance.

Returned: William H. Butterfield, associate professor of business communication; G. H. Smith returned as assistant professor of applied sociology after a year's study at the University of Minnesota.

Deaths: Edmund Berrigan, professor of accounting.

Summer appointments: C. C. Rister, professor of history, summer session of 1940 at University of Colorado.

V. G. Wilhite and Edward C. Petty, Assistant Professors of Economics, have been promoted to the rank of Associate Professors of Economics.

Ronald B. Shuman has been advanced from the rank of Assistant Professor of Business Management to that of Associate Professor and Head of the Department.

John A. Griswold, Associate Professor of Finance, has been made Head of the Department of Finance.

Leonard Logan, Professor of Sociology, is again doing full-time teaching after spending two years in developing the adult education program in the Extension Division of the University.

Joseph C. Pray has been promoted from the rank of instructor in government to that of Assistant Professor.

M. Lynden Mannen, Instructor in Government, who has been on leave of absence for the past year, has been granted a second year's leave of absence for the continuation of graduate work in Washington, D. C.

Oliver Benson, Assistant Professor of Government, is the author of a new book on the European situation entitled *Through the Diplomatic Looking Glass*, which is being issued by the University of Oklahoma.

TEXAS

Texas State College for Women—Mrs. Mattie Lloyd Wooten, Dean of Women and Associate Professor of Sociology, has resumed her work in Texas State College for Women after having been on leave since last February, completing her residence work for her doctorate at the University of Texas.

Mr. P. F. Boyer, Assistant Professor of Economics and Business at Texas State College for Women, is on leave of absence this year. He is instructor in statistics in the University of Texas where he is working on his dissertation for the Ph. D. degree.

Dr. T. L. Morrison has been made the Associate Professor of Economics and Business at Texas State College for Women. Dr. Morrison was connected with Alabama Polytechnic before coming here.

Dr. Paul Young, Associate Professor of Government in the Texas State College for Women, studied in the University of Wisconsin Graduate School last summer.

Dr. Ruby Joe Reeves, Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology, was married to Dr. Raymond Kennedy, Professor of Sociology at Yale University, on July 20, 1939, in Philadelphia.

Rice Institute—Mr. David Potter of the History Department

is editing some letters of Henry Adams which have hitherto not been generally available.

Dr. R. E. Westmeyer of the Economics Department recently completed work on the leading article and a group of supporting articles on Taxation for the forthcoming Dictionary of American History.

The University of Texas—By the time this reaches the hands of subscribers the University will have inaugurated its new president, Homer Price Rainey. The exercises are scheduled for December 9.

A personnel conference, which will be conducted annually hereafter, was held at the University November 24 and 25.

Professor J. Alton Burdine of the department of government has been granted leave of absence for the remainder of the 1939-40 session to accept a position as special consultant to the Administrator of the Federal Security Agency.

BOOK REVIEWS

EDITED BY O. DOUGLAS WEEKS
The University of Texas

Mack, Edward C., *Public Schools and British Public Opinion: 1780-1860. The Relationship Between Contemporary Ideas and the Evolution of an English Institution.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939, pp. xvi and 432.)

Few facts respecting English education have been so thoroughly impressed upon the American reading public as the fact of the great importance of the Public Schools in the English scene. The Council Schools of England educate their thousands where the Public Schools educate their tens; but many an American who never heard of a local education authority has heard of Eton, Harrow, and Rugby, and has been given to understand that a few, comparatively small and exceedingly exclusive boarding schools—the Public Schools—furnish a share of the leaders of English life out of all proportion to their size or to the number of pupils that pass through them. Hughes' *Tom Brown's School Days* and Kipling's *Starky and Co.* have given thousands of American boys a glimpse of the life and organization of these schools. Byron, Shelley, Cowper, Matthew Arnold, Thackeray, Dickens, and a host of other authors have built up a tradition of the Public School in English letters. Readers of biographies know these institutions, too, for they have been for more than a century at once the forcing ground of English genius and training ground for the disciplining of talent. These institutions have a very large place in the literature of educational controversy and of school reform. The total literature respecting them is enormous.

The copious body of literature—fiction, poetry, reminiscence, biography, essays, histories, and ephemera—which deals with the growth of the Public Schools and with British public opinion respecting them between 1780 and 1860 has been made the basis of a study by Mr. Edward C. Mack, which has just been published as Number 142 of the *Columbia Studies in English and Comparative Literature*.

Mr. Mack recognizes that no institutions are more characteristically English than are the Public Schools, and that "an appreciation of the character of Public School growth is of vital importance for the study of English civilization." (xi) His study of the interaction between the schools and public opinion involves him in some examination of economic developments, of philosophies, of social changes, and of movements in religion which have affected both the growth of schools and the course of public opinion respecting them. He points out that these schools have not been formed in accordance with some pre-conceived plan, but have grown. In their growth they have been affected by changing philosophies, by social and economic changes, and by religious movements, and have been consciously modified in the light of criticism. A distinctive characteristic of Public Schools has been their autonomy—their development has been marked by absence of outside interference.

Public Schools and British Opinion: 1780-1860 opens with a short survey of the development of the seven great grammar schools, which are

the oldest of the modern Public Schools, from the founding of Winchester School in 1382 to 1780. In this survey the development which resulted in the transformation of seven grammar schools designed principally to carry lads through the first stages of their preparation for clerical careers into schools in which youths of the English upper classes were formed for public careers is traced. The character of the schools about 1780, and the nature of public opinion respecting them at that time are then described. Later sections of the book are devoted to the history of the Public Schools for the eighty years following 1780. The course of British opinion—censure, defense, and praise—is charted. The story is told of the work and influence of the great masters; and many a glimpse is afforded of life at school of lads who were to become great statesmen and men of letters—Pitt, Walpole, and Gladstone, to name a few only. Considerable space is devoted to accounts of the influence of major religious, economic, scientific, and philosophical movements upon the development of English opinion respecting education and upon the growth of schools. In the nineteenth century new Public Schools were founded. Criticism of the great foundations was vigorous between 1840 and 1860. The book closes with a promise of a further study, which will carry the inquiry through the reforms affected in Public Schools in the second half of the nineteenth century and the developments which have followed.

Public Schools and British Opinion is a significant book. It is a thorough and scholarly study, made from a fresh and fruitful approach, of one of the most important educational institutions in the world. The examination of the influence of evangelicalism upon Public Schools and of the work of Dr. Arnold of Rugby are particularly good. Strong as the book is, it would have been strengthened had more of the recent studies of the history of English education and of educational theories been consulted. The Nonconformist academies of England certainly affected the course of British opinion respecting Public Schools very greatly. A definitive study of these institutions, *Dissenting Academies in England*, by Irene Parker, appeared in 1914. The view of John Locke as a formalist in education was critically examined by Vivian Trow Thayer in her *The Misinterpretation of John Locke as a Formalist in Education Philosophy*, which appeared in 1921. In *Public Schools and British Opinion*, Locke appears, (pp. 31 and 58) as he does in some earlier histories of education, as the exponent of the disciplinary conception of education. The dissenting academies are neglected. The authorship of *The Swiss Family Robinson* is attributed (p. 126n) to the German J. H. Campe. Campe wrote a book called *Robinson der Jungere*, but *The Swiss Family Robinson* is by Johann Wyse, of Bern. The work of such contemporary historians of Education as Helen Wodehouse, J. W. Adamson, E. H. Reisner, and I. L. Kandel are almost indispensable aides in the study of English education.

Public Schools and British Opinion: 1780-1860 is recommended very cordially to students of English civilization, and especially to persons interested in the history of education and in English literature. It is authoritative, rich in content, and well and interestingly written. It should be widely used.

CHARLES F. ARROWOOD

The University of Texas

Landon, Charles E., *Industrial Geography*. (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939, pp. xxviii, 811.)

A knowledge of Economic Geography is of utmost importance in solving present day world problems. According to the author, *Industrial Geography* as a subdivision of Economic Geography has as its theme the purpose of bringing "into sharp relief the relationship existing between the major elements of the physical environment—location, climate, land forms, water bodies, and natural resources—and the development of industrial activities." This text presents a "study of the natural resources, the industries that convert them into active use, and the products made available through industrial processes . . .". It is indeed a treatment well deserving of consideration by those desiring an up-to-date college text in economic geography.

Industrial Geography, attractively bound in red cloth and consisting of 811 easily read pages organized into forty-nine chapters, presents a success from a book-maker's viewpoint. Visual aids are supplied by 275 maps and illustrations, of which seventy-one are photographs. A Table of Contents includes not only chapter headings but all first and second sub-headings as used in the text. A bibliography of 342 references arranged according to chapter headings is very helpful. An index listing both commodities and places adds to further efficiency in the use of the book.

It is quite probable that the biggest criticism of *Industrial Geography* will be toward the plan of organization. The subject matter is presented on a regional basis rather than by commodities or industries. In departments offering both regional and commodity courses, this may be objectionable. As a single economic geography offering, the arrangement may be quite desirable. The book is divided into two parts: Part One (370 pages), The United States; and Part Two (402 pages), Foreign Countries. Under this arrangement it seems difficult to secure a world-wide picture of single commodities and industries without jumping from chapter to chapter. The outline of Part One is very good for the United States and might have been used for the book as a whole. In the preface the author states that industrial geography might be the geography of production. The study might have been made, therefore, on a world-wide treatment of producing regions by commodities and thus leave summarizations "for each country . . . along with some of the historical results of their influence," to regional studies of the countries.

Even though the method of organization may be questioned the subject matter is well presented. In many cases, however, documentation is needed both on tables and charts, and for textual matter. This would better enable the reader to bring figures up to date each year before revision is possible as well as to appreciate the accuracy of the subject matter.

The uses of the book may be varied. It should be suitable as a text in a single course required of business or commerce students. It should find use as a valuable reference in regional courses, and it holds a vast amount of material for the reader who wishes to obtain a better under-

standing of the producing and consuming areas of commodities important in present day problems of the world. *Industrial Geography* does a good job in emphasizing a wise and efficient use of natural resources and in portraying the desirable geographic principle of interdependence of regions.

CLARENCE B. ODELL

University of Missouri.

Panunzio, Constantine, *Major Social Institutions, An Introduction* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939, pp. xx, 609.)

This is a good book of its kind, a well-organized introductory survey of already existing data and not a treatise on the theory of institutions. In keeping with what the author believes to be a major development in Sociology—"the process of developing specialized, analytical disciplines"—*Major Social Institutions* is offered as a contribution to the sociology of institutions. Furthermore, as the title indicates, it focuses attention on the major institutions. The discussion is largely limited to institutions as found in the western world. Within these self-imposed limitations the author has done a good job and the book deserves a place on the shelves alongside Hertzler's *Social Institutions* and Chapin's *Contemporary American Institutions*.

The work is well-organized. Part I deals with *The Social Institutional Order* and contains the only theoretical contributions the book has to offer. Social institutions are defined as systems "which embody the age-long and universal experience of mankind in dealing with physical, biological, and human nature toward the satisfaction of essential needs." (p. 8) Each institutional system is sub-divided into "sub-systems of concepts, usages and rules, associations, and instruments," (p. 8) with each of these sub-systems then being discussed in some detail. This is followed by a consideration of the "General and Functional Characteristics" of institutions. Part I closes with a discussion of institutional systems as related to such other systems as society and culture. Part II considers *The Factors* or "the immediate resources on which man has drawn in building the social institutions . . ." Physical, biological and cultural factors are treated. There is nothing new here either in the data or in the manner of presentation. Part III has to do with *The Institutions* themselves. "Eight major institutions, namely, marriage, the family, the economic, educational, recreational, religious, scientific, and governmental systems" are examined. In each case "specific originating factors, the major conceptual or functional developments, the principal folkways and mores . . . the associations, the skills and instruments involved" are considered. Part IV is a treatment of *Social Institutional Processes*. The author views these processes as other than the "social processes, or the processes of primary-group formation, procedure, and functioning." He is concerned with those processes which "transcend the primary group and which affect whole institutions or societies." (page 392) The following are identified and discussed in some detail: development, change, struggle,

maladjustment, control, and persistence, this material being sandwiched in between two chapters on *The Emergence of Institutions* and *Teleology or Pursuit of Goals*.

The book concludes with Part V on *The Future of Western Culture*, in which the author attempts to trace—(1) Major Patterns and Trends, (2) Major Cultural Procedures, (3) Urbanization in our Time, (4) Major Dilemmas of our Time, and closes by asking (5) What of the Future?

Thirty-four tables, four figures, Suggestions to Students and Teachers, a Glossary of one hundred and seventy-two terms, an Index of Names, and an Index of Subjects add greatly to the usability of the book.

So much for a description of the contents. There seems little need to go into further detail since the volume is nothing other than a thoroughly conventional and quite acceptable compilation of information already generally available though not organized in this particular fashion nor published by this particular company.

REX D. HOPPER

The University of Texas

Coon, Carleton Stevens, *The Races of Europe*. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939, pp. xx; 739.)

The problem of Race has created considerable interest in the past few years not only in anthropological circles, but also amongst persons only slightly acquainted with the scientific nature and technical character of racial study. This interest has been occasioned by the growth of German National Socialism which by its attempt to lay the basis of the modern German nation-state on the foundation of an "Aryan" race has revived once more the questionable racial theories of men like Gobineau and H. S. Chamberlin. As a result of this situation there has been much loose thinking and a still greater amount of loose talking about the nature of Race, to which Professor Coon's book affords a much needed antidote. The work, which is limited to a discussion of the physical anthropology of the white branch of the *Homo Sapiens*, is divided into two parts, the first portion of which deals with the extant historical evidences of racial types which have existed in the past while the second is a study of the living examples of the white race in Europe. Throughout his study Professor Coon, although he makes no attempt to deal with the problems of blood groups and racial intelligence, is still careful to stress the importance of non-biological factors in the development of physical types. As he himself states, "—physical anthropology cannot be divorced from cultural and historical association, and that there is no such thing as a pure biology, at least in reference to human beings" (vii).

Chapter 8 is of special interest to the amateur since in it the materials and techniques employed in the examination of anthropological data are outlined and discussed.

The work as a whole, although designed for use as a college text in a technical field is nevertheless clearly enough written to be of value to the general reader. It is especially useful as a handbook to which ready ref-

erence can be made by one who, although perhaps not an anthropologist, nevertheless on occasion has to make use of anthropological data. The book is made more serviceable by a glossary of the principal scientific terms used, by a detailed bibliography, and by a list of the chief periodical sources. An interesting photographic supplement is inserted in the center of the volume and is followed by explanatory tables and charts. The careful scholarship which Professor Coon has evidenced in the preparation of his book make it one of the outstanding contributions of recent years to the field of physical anthropology. The volume is a worthy successor to Professor Rippley's pioneering treatise after which it has been named.

H. MALCOLM MACDONALD

The University of Texas

Kohn, Hans, *Revolutions and Dictatorships*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939, pp. 437.)

The title of this book by Professor Kohn is a somewhat misleading one, since the book itself is not a unified work, but rather a collection of essays dealing with certain problems of contemporary history and their background. The essays, as is natural, differ in value, but all of them demonstrate Professor Kohn's keen analytical ability as a student of, and commentator on, present world affairs.

Of importance to students of contemporary international politics is the essay contained in Chapter VI entitled *Communist and Fascist Dictatorships—A Comparative Study*, in which Professor Kohn gives a penetrating discussion of the remarkable similarities, as well as dissimilarities, which exist between these two forms of social organization. Of interest also is the section devoted to the problems created by the rise of the new nation states of Turkey and Arabia and of the impact of this development on the whole Near East, a region in which, incidentally, Professor Kohn is particularly well at home, having spent some years of his life in that area. The essay on Zionism (Chapter XII) is, in this reviewer's opinion, one of the ablest as well as the most concise and unimpassioned discussions of this vital problem which has yet been made.

Students of Nationalism will also find much food for thought in Chapter III on Nationalism as a cultural movement, in Chapter V which deals with Nationalism and the U. S. S. R., and in Chapter IX in which the present status and future possibilities of the modern nationalist movement are discussed.

In the last section of the book, entitled *The Totalitarian Crisis*, Professor Kohn minces no words in putting squarely up to the democracies and their people the task of uniting both physically and morally in order to save the cultural heritage of the West from the challenging barbarisms of the new Fascist and Communist *Weltanschauungs*.

The volume is further enriched by an appendix in which the author briefly comments upon and analyzes some of the more recent books which bear upon the present international situation.

On the whole, Professor Kohn has succeeded in producing a varied

work which cannot fail to stimulate and to instruct anyone who is interested in the background development, and the possible future of the present world crisis.

H. MALCOLM MACDONALD

The University of Texas

Gregory, Edward W., Jr., and Bidgood, Lee, *Introductory Sociology, A Study of American Society*. (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939, pp. xxvii, 653.)

Professor Gregory and Dean Bidgood of the University of Alabama have succeeded here in their efforts to prepare an introductory course on sociology. Although intended for use by beginning students, the book approaches the status of a treatise on the subject. As stated in the preface, the authors' purpose is "to present an integrated treatment of the fundamental principles of sociology as a science and the more significant sociological aspects of American society—to provide a foundation of sociological theory and factual knowledge for an appreciation of scientific analysis and its use in the interpretation of social data."

The book is composed of a general introduction and seven major parts. The headings of the general divisions are as follows: Social Relations; Population and the Human Community; The Family; Race and Culture; Social Mal-Adjustments; Social Change and Social Control; and Sociology and Sociological Analysis. The authors define sociology as the study of social process and its principal resultants: culture and personality. Naturally this definition would suggest the plan of approach and the treatment followed throughout the text.

The arrangement of the subject matter is convenient for instructional purposes and the book is so designed as to fit the needs of most any class in the introductory course. At the beginning of each part, there is an introductory statement which serves as a guide to the contents to follow. At the end of each chapter there is a convenient set of questions and also a well chosen list of references.

This text is one of a series edited by Professor Herbert Blumer of the University of Chicago. The publishers are to be congratulated on doing a much better job in the mechanical preparation of the books in this series than they have in some of the other texts they have heretofore published.

LEONARD LOGAN

The University of Oklahoma

McIlwaine, Shields, *The Southern Poor-White from Lubberland to Tobacco Road*. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939, pp. xxv, 274).

Tracing the literary treatment of the Southern poor-white for a period of two hundred years, the author of this book presents his chief character in a variety of roles. The poor-white, it appears, has been by

turns brutal, pathetic, tragic or funny. Sometimes he has been a pawn in propaganda; sometimes the victim of political demagogues. In one scene he is a sexless patriotic hero; in another his sole motive seems to be an interest in procreation.

To one expecting to find a true picture of the poor-white Mr. McIlwaine's book is bewildering. The reader can only conclude that the numerous writers who have dealt with the poor-white have shaped him to fit their purposes, largely disregarding his true character. As a study of change in the folkways of fiction, however, the book is most enlightening. It shows the limited range of materials on the poor-white made available to the writer by the conventions and the tastes of his time. It clearly presents the shifts from realism to idealism and back again. The implications are discouraging to the potential author who hopes to be truthful and original; he will here discover that he is as much the product of the environment as the poor-white himself.

Judged as literature the book seems to the reviewer quite satisfactory. It is well written, interesting and brief.

CARL M. ROSENQUIST

The University of Texas

Barnwell, Mildred Gwin, *Faces We See*. (Gastonia, N. C.: The Southern Combed Yarn Spinners Association, 1939, pp. 112.)

Truth about Dixie seems most elusive. Within the past few years several noteworthy studies and reports, together with a flood of pamphlets and brochures have professed to tell us what is what below the Mason and Dixon Line. Scholars such as Howard W. Odum, journalists such as Jonathan Daniels and poets such as Erskine Caldwell and Margaret Bourke-White have all tried their hand at the task. Now comes the latest effort in the series; that of the Southern Combed Yarn Spinners Association, with headquarters in Gastonia, North Carolina, speaking through Mildred Gwin Barnwell, in a volume of pictures, with accompanying text, and called *Faces We See*. Obviously designed as an answer to *You Have Seen Their Faces*, the spinners book follows the form of its predecessor closely. The reader is assured that here is the real story of life in a southern cotton mill village. This may be true. Certainly no one would doubt that the pictures are authentic. But just as certainly it does not represent truthfully life in southern cotton mill villages in general; or if it does the scores of such villages this reviewer has visited were far from typical. Perhaps if the "We" in the title had been italicised, the nature of the offering might have been more apparent. The volume would seem to indicate that a cameraman accompanied by a woman with long experience in the textile industry can find almost anything they want to. It is an interesting development in the art of propaganda.

HARRY ESTILL MOORE

The University of Texas

Anderson, William (Ed.), *Local Government in Europe*. (New York: Appleton-Century Company, 1939, pp. xviii, 453.)

The appearance of a text treating of European local and municipal government has long been wished for by those interested in this field within the United States. Professor William Anderson has prepared the preface, written the introductions, and served as editor of the volume. Sections appear on the following countries in the order listed: England, France, Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union. They are written by Professors R. K. Gooch, Walter Rice Sharp, Fritz Morstein Marx, H. Arthur Steiner, and Bertram W. Maxwell, respectively. Of the five countries presented, the section treating of local government in France is not only somewhat longer, but to the reviewer it is more completely and more expertly done.

The volume is little more than a descriptive presentation of local government in the countries studied, without any attempt at a discussion of prevailing local problems. Possibly with the exception of England and France, the treatment of the structure and functions of local government in the countries discussed might be characterized as indeed brief. However, the authors have brought together within one volume both textual and documentary material; in addition they have supplied the reader with short bibliographies and additional references in footnotes.

Despite the fact that many authors have taken a hand in compiling it, the volume presents a rather uniform pattern. The style throughout is clear and forceful, and on the whole the text makes rather interesting reading, which of itself is a compliment when one considers the type of material presented.

STUART A. MACCORKLE

The University of Texas

Burgess, Ernest W. and Cottrell, Leonard S., Jr., *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage*. (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1939, pp. 463.)

In considering the application of prediction to marital adjustment there comes to mind the many factors for which an accounting has to be made. In addition to all the factors that have gone into the forming of two personalities there are economic, social, and religious phases, to mention a few, that must be related to any such effort. Nevertheless as the individual marriage is apparently emerging from the cloak of control by customs and community opinion and made to stand upon its own merits and adjustments, it is a matter of public concern that there be some scientific effort to develop a knowledge of the patterns in this relationship.

In this study, 526 questionnaires were used. The problems of securing returns on a questionnaire of this kind apparently excluded much opportunity for a control of sampling. The material is well presented including many tables and charts with careful explanation. Of interest among the major findings is the fact that in a partial correlation with the prediction score, the economic background tends to be minimized as an effective factor, emphasizing instead they psychogenetic and socializa-

tion factors. In the course of summarizing their findings the authors suggest—"Prediction before marriage of marital adjustment is feasible, and should and can be further developed through statistical and case study techniques." (p. 347)

The final chapter offers a summary analysis of past and contemporary studies in the prediction of marital adjustment and an effort is made to construct from such perspective a possible plan for further research.

WM. H. McCULLOUGH

The University of Oklahoma

BOOK NOTES

In its third edition Chester C. Maxey's *The American Problem of Government* (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1939, pp. ix, 596) has undergone no fundamental change with respect to general organization and content. Although the factual material has been brought up to date and some chapters have been rewritten, the changes in this new edition have not been extensive enough to alter whatever opinion one already has of this well-known text. The outstanding characteristics of the third edition, whether they be deemed merits or defects, are the same as in the preceding one. The functional approach is retained. So is the eighty-page treatment in Part I of political terms and ideas which have no direct bearing on American government but which presumably will be useful background material for the student. The wealth of factual detail to be found in some of the other texts on the same subject is absent here. One very real merit of Dr. Maxey's earlier editions reappears in this one, namely, a fairly readable style. This is a deplorably rare characteristic of books in the field of political science. Its presence in Dr. Maxey's work may recommend the use of this text for beginning students in preference to works that are equally scholarly but written in a more ponderous style.

D. S. S.

Frederick E. Croxton and Dudley J. Cowden in *Applied General Statistics* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1939, pp. 944) have attempted to bring together material from various fields, especially the social sciences; in their presentation of statistical procedures. The data used, however, seem to be largely from economics or from population statistics. The book is notably thorough, especially in graphic presentation. Added to this thoroughness, however, is an effort to keep the material at an elementary level. The book consists of twenty-five chapters covering over 800 pages with the addition of an appendix of 18 divisions, including a glossary of symbols and formulae. The arrangement of the topics is similar to the authors' earlier text, *Practical Business Statistics*. In view of the extensiveness of the total presentation, certain sections have been designated as an outline for a short course of instruction. The first and second chapters offer, respectively, a useful introduction to the statistical method and a summary of certain phases in the collection of statistical data.

W. H. McC.

Apparently culture is about to become the same the world over, one more bit of evidence to this tendency being presented in S. Warren Hall, III's *Tangier Island* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939, pp. xiii, 122). Isolated by water and by a somewhat out-of-the-way position in Chesapeake Bay, the inhabitants of this island still tend to retain but are rapidly losing their distinctive cultural characteristics. The railroad on the adjacent mainland, the motor boat, the mail-order catalogue, and the movie, each has created contacts making for uniformity. The final disappearance of the difference that mark the Tangierman is already in sight. The study gives an interesting and fairly complete social history of life on the island. It is the kind of study which should be done, and soon, for all areas which still possess distinctive culture.

C. M. R.

After a dozen years a revision of Edward M. Salt's *American Parties and Elections* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939, pp. x, 790) has appeared. Five new chapters have been added, and, to a large extent, the original text, although retaining the same arrangement, has been thoroughly re-written with due regard to the many new developments and the additions to the literature of American politics which have appeared in the intervening period. The new chapters are entitled: "Introductory" (ch. I); "Agrarian Pressure Groups" (ch. VII); "Minor Parties" (ch. XI); "Campaign Finance" (ch. XXIII); and "Registration" (ch. XXVI); increasing the length of the book by 180 pages. Thus is brought up to date one of the best, if not the best, of the textbooks on the American system of elections and political parties. No other rival text is quite so scholarly, so well-balanced, or so comprehensive as this one. None is better written.

O. D. W.

Benjamin Brawley, veteran teacher, has brought his *Short History of the American Negro* up to date in a fourth revision published by Macmillan. The mere fact that the book has gone through four editions, beginning in 1913, is ample evidence of its worth. For two and a half decades this work has been a standard in its field, that of the contributions of the Negro group to the life of America. Written from the Negro point of view, it contains much material overlooked by writers of the dominant Caucasian group and serves the purpose of giving the Negroes a basis for racial pride as well as calling attention of students in general to the accomplishments of this element in our national life. Like all works of such limited scope, it suffers from a lack of detail.

H. E. M.

A valuable addition to the literature of American political thought has been made in the publication of Eugene Tenbroeck Mudge's *The Social Philosophy of John Taylor of Caroline* (New York: Columbia Uni-

versity Press, 1939, pp. xii, 227). Taylor, it will be remembered, after long neglect was rediscovered by Charles A. Beard and given his proper place as a leading political and economic philosopher of Jeffersonian Democracy. The present treatment of Taylor seems to be thorough and scholarly. It gives equal emphasis to the various important phases of his thought in the divisions dealing with: "Political Theory;" "Division of Power;" "Sectionalism;" "Agriculturalism;" and "Defense of Slavery." This book will serve further to elevate Taylor to his proper niche as an important contributor in the formulation of American political ideas.

O. D. W.

A new and original compilation of excerpts from the writings of the political philosophers, writers, and statesmen of the past century and of the present has appeared in *Modern Political Doctrines*, edited by Alfred Zimmern (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. xxxiv, 306). The material is divided into four parts: "Government;" "The Economic Problem;" "Nationality, Nationalism and Racism;" and "The Problem of International Order;" under which are grouped a large number of brief, but well-selected, passages from the writings of many contributors to modern political thought. The book provides very convenient reference material for students and readers who desire to acquire some background for interpreting current political ideas.

O. D. W.

The Birth of the Oil Industry (The Macmillan Company, 1938, p. 216), by Paul H. Giddens, is a detailed treatment of a very short period of the long history of the oil industry. It contains multitudinous minute details, important perhaps at the time, but of little interest to the student of the present oil situation. The book may be of some interest to historians interested in antiquarianism. The period covered so minutely runs from about 1855 to about 1870.

R. L. O.